

# **Struggle for urban citizenship in South Africa: Agency and politics in the Enkanini upgrading project, Stellenbosch**

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## **Declaration**

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### **Abstract**

As the world becomes increasingly urban and urban conditions carry promises of a better life, significant categories of urban residents inhabit urban centres in cumulative insurgent processes of gaining a foothold in the governance contexts that are experienced as being indifferent to their living conditions. Through utilising an ethnographic immersion into Enkanini informal settlement (Kayamandi, Stellenbosch) and analysing the resultant qualitative data, the study identifies, describes, interprets and explains the mobilisation of shack dwellers to access the axes of urban citizenship: land and services. The core argument of this study is that, despite the constraints put on Enkanini residents by the municipality and by those best described as ‘former patrons’ to achieve their goals, the residents did make some gains – particularly by establishing a sense of their urban citizenship for themselves and by engaging autonomously in a struggle towards that end. An understanding of these shack dwellers’ struggle for urban citizenship was gained from social and planning processes that were observed in and around Enkanini settlement, including: perceptions of improving lives, processes of articulating claims and engaging with the municipality, and activities that portrayed patterns of engagement (meetings and protests). In particular, the process of how Enkanini obtained its existing services and residents’ pursuit of expanding them was closely studied. What emerged from the story of Enkanini and is important in contributing to the understanding of urban citizenship are the processes and discourses through which shack dwellers position themselves as (un)worthy claimants of urban citizenship. In this dissertation, I present contexts of exception and neglect that are contested by shack dwellers, initially through clientelistic relations that are initially weakened, but later perceived to be strong by the state. Patronage is positioned as a (de)mobilising element in the genealogy of informal settlements within the context of the polarised electoral politics of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC). Enkanini residents’ recent demands are read by the DA-led municipal leadership as a mere façade for ANC patronage and the politicisation of service delivery.

The study identifies and explains the current articulation of ‘improved life’ by Enkanini residents who were haunted by historical legacies of neglect and the logics of patronage that displaced their demands. The innovations in solar energy solutions for shack settlements by Stellenbosch University are analysed with reference to the

displacing processes that perpetuated the exclusion of shack settlements from service provision. The solar energy initiatives were perceived by shack dwellers as a dispossession of their upgrading discourse as well as a palliative response to their envisioned improved lives that were woven around connection to the national electricity grid. The study identifies a municipality perceived to be indifferent based on how it responded to the demands of shack dwellers by positioning the latter as urban outsiders whose settlement was seen as temporary, illegitimate or nonexistent. This attitude is explained as being sustained by political attitudes that led to a discourse on upgrading by the municipality that not only translated into maintenance of the prevailing status quo of neglect but that also fostered abandonment. The study then provides an analysis of shack dwellers' engagement with the local state to counter and disrupt processes of neglect by exposing perceived dishonesty of the local state, visibilising their true conditions through self-survey, rebutting the political prejudices of municipal leadership that viewed their mobilisation as a Trojan Horse of political rivals, and articulating and asserting their own discourse on upgrading that was built upon dignity.

In its analysis of these engagements with the local state, the study portrays the practices and acts of Enkanini shack dwellers as those of citizens who have the right to voice deficits in their substantive citizenship. Without falling into the trap of romanticising the insurgent practices of shack dwellers, the study also presents the influence of and reaction to local politicians who punished the emerging autonomous mobilisation that bypassed them as brokers by endorsing the solar energy project in ways that were experienced as divisive by Enkanini residents and that deflated their mobilisation. The study site was unique in the sense that shack dwellers lacked the presence of advocates and supporters such as nongovernmental organisations and activists that have aided similar struggles elsewhere in the country.

### Opsomming

Aangesien die wêreld al meer verstedelik en omstandighede in stede beloftes van 'n beter lewensgehalte inhou, leef 'n beduidende sektor van die samelewing in stedelike gebiede in toenemende indringingsprosesse om 'n aandeel te kry in regeringskontekste wat skynbaar onverskillig teenoor hulle lewensomstandighede staan. Op grond van diepgaande etnografiese betrokkenheid in die Enkanini-informele woonbuurt (Kayamandi, Stellenbosch) en ontleding van die kwalitatiewe data wat dit opgelewer het, identifiseer, beskryf, vertolk en verduidelik dit hoe plakkershutbewoners gemobiliseer is om toegang tot die dimensies van stedelike burgerskap te kry: grond en dienste. Die hoofargument van hierdie studie is dat ten spyte van die beperkings wat deur die munisipaliteit en 'vroeëre beskermhere' op die bereiking van die doelwitte van die inwoners van Enkanini geplaas is, die inwoners tog 'n aantal suksesse aangeteken het – veral deur vir hulself 'n bewussyn van stedelike burgerskap te vestig en outonoom in die stryd vir daardie doel deel te neem. Insig in plakkershutbewoners se stryd om stedelike burgerskap is verkry deur sosiale en beplanningsprosesse in en rondom die Enkanini-woonbuurt waar te neem, byvoorbeeld: persepsies van verbeterde lewensomstandighede, prosesse waarvolgens eise verwoord en met die munisipaliteit gesprek gevoer word, en bedrywighede wat patrone in gesprekvoering uitgewys het (vergaderings en protesoptrede). Daar is in die besonder gelet op hoe Enkanini sy bestaande dienste bekom het en hoe inwoners te werk gaan om dit uit te brei. Wat uit Enkanini se verhaal na vore gekom het en vir 'n begrip van stedelike burgerskap belangrik is, is die prosesse en gesprekke waardeur plakkershutbewoners hulleself as (on)waardige aanspraakmakers op stedelike burgerskap posisioneer. Hierdie proefskrif hou kontekste van uitsondering en verwaarlosing voor wat deur plakkershutbewoners beveg word, aanvanklik deur kliëntistiese verhoudinge wat lateraan verswak, maar wat die regering mettertyd reken sterk is. Begunstiging funksioneer as 'n (de)mobiliserende element in die genealogie van informele woonbuurte binne die konteks van die gepolariseerde verkiesingspolitiek wat die Demokratiese Alliansie (DA) en die African National Congress (ANC) bedryf, waarvolgens die DA-beheerde munisipaliteit die inwoners van Enkanini se onlangse eise sien as 'n blote fasade om die ANC te begunstig en dienslewering te verpolitiseer.

Die navorsing toon en verduidelik hoe 'verbeterde lewensomstandighede' tans outonoom verwoord word deur die inwoners van Enkanini, wat belas is met historiese nalatenskappe van verwaarlosing en die logika van patronaatskap wat hulle eise verdring het. Die Universiteit Stellenbosch se vernuwende sonkragoplossings vir plakkersbuurte is ontleed met verwysing na die verdringingsprosesse wat meebring dat plakkersbuurte steeds van dienslewering uitgesluit is. Plakkersshutbewoners beskou die sonkrag-inisiatiewe as 'n onteiening van hulle opgraderingsdiskoers asook 'n tydelike susmiddel in reaksie op hulle vooruitsigte van verbeterde lewensomstandighede, wat rondom die verbinding met die nasionale elektrisiteitsnetwerk opgebou is. Die navorsing toon dat die munisipaliteit skynbaar onverskillig staan – te oordeel na die manier waarop hulle plakkersshutbewoners se eise hanteer asof hierdie dorpsbewoners in die posisie is van buitestaanders in die dorpslewe wat hulle tydelik of onregmatig kom vestig het of glad nie gevestig is nie. Die verklaring vir hierdie ingesteldheid was dat dit deur politieke ingesteldhede gevoed word, wat veroorsaak het dat gesprekke met die munisipaliteit oor opgradering nie slegs daarop uitloop dat die huidige stand van sake gehandhaaf word nie, maar ook verwerping in die hand werk. Vervolgens ontleed die navorsing hoe plakkersshutbewoners met die regering omgaan om prosesse van verwaarlosing teen te werk en te ontwig deur bloot te lê wat hulle as oneerlikheid by die plaaslike regering beskou, hulle ware omstandighede voor te hou deur self opnames te doen, die politieke vooroordele te weerlê van munisipale leiers wat hulle mobilisasie as 'n Trojaanse perd van politieke teenstanders beskou, en hulle eie gesprek te voer wat verwoord en benadruk dat opgradering op waardigheid gegrond moet wees.

Die navorsing sien die plakkersshutbewoners van Enkanini se praktyke en optrede in hierdie gesprekvoering met die plaaslike regering as burgers wat die reg het om gebreke in hulle substantiewe burgerskap te verwoord. Sonder om in die slagkat te beland wat die indringingsaktiwiteite van plakkersshutbewoners verromantiseer, toon die navorsing ook die invloed van en reaksie op plaaslike politici wat die opkomende outonome mobilisasie wat hulle makelaarsposisie gesystap het, gepenaliseer het deur die sonkragprojek te onderskryf op maniere wat die inwoners van Enkanini as verdelend ervaar en hulle mobilisasie laat momentum verloor het. Die navorsingsplek was uniek in die opsig dat plakkersshutbewoners hulleself sonder die gewone voorspraak en hulp in die vorm van nieregeringsorganisasies en aktiviste moes

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This thesis is dedicated to the lovely Thulani, Thabiso, Andile and Loyiso; my siblings; my mother; and the memory of my late father who passed away during the writing stage of my study.

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## Glossary of Abbreviations

AbM	Abahlali baseMjondolo
AC	Alternating Current
DC	Direct Current
ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CUP	Coalition of the Urban Poor
CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
DA	Democratic Alliance
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FEDUP	Federation of the Urban Poor
iShack	Improved Shack
ISN	Informal Settlement Network
KDF	Kayamandi Development Forum
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
PSBO	Plan-service-build-occupy
SAHPF	South African Homeless People's Federation
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SAPS	South African Police Services
SJC	Social Justice Coalition
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SI	Sustainability Institute
TSAMA	<i>Transdisciplinarity, Sustainability, Assessment, Modelling and Analysis</i>
WCAEC	Western Cape Anti-Eviction Coalition





## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH DESIGN AND CONTEXT OF ENKANINI INFORMAL SETTLEMENT

### 1.1 Background

In July 2012, residents of Enkanini informal settlement in Stellenbosch, South Africa, protested at main and local municipal offices, demanding electricity and improved services in their community. The mayor of Stellenbosch Municipality met with them on July 26, 2012 and requested that they return after one month, as the municipality had no knowledge of the demographics of Enkanini at that time, thus making it difficult to intervene in terms of service provision. That same year, there were wide-ranging conjectures on the population size of Enkanini (see Box 1). Immediately after the July 26 meeting, the municipality, in partnership with Slum Dwellers International (SDI)/Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC), facilitated a self-enumeration exercise, raising hopes and enthusiasm in the community over the prospect of interventions that the municipality would bring. Those hopes were raised because the municipality had responded to the demands of the Enkanini residents for electricity and for improvement in the existing water and sanitation services by highlighting the illegibility of Enkanini as a hindrance. At the community meetings convened from July 26 until the next meeting with the mayor on August 28, 2012, Enkanini residents expected to be informed of the mayor's post-enumeration plans for Enkanini.

#### Box 1: Conjectures on the population size of Enkanini (Kayamandi) informal settlement

- a. "... approximately between 6 000 and 8 000 people" (Boix-Mansilla, Chua and Van Breda, 2012).
- b. "There are currently 8 000 people estimated to be residing in Enkanini" (Vuya Endaweni, n.d).
- c. "Currently (Enkanini) has 8 000 residents" (iShack: More than just shelter, 2012)
- d. "... about 6000 people" (BOP Learning Lab, 2013).
- e. "... Enkanini's 8 000 population" (Duval-Smith, 2012).
- f. "Approximately 9 000 people" (Tavener-Smith, 2012).
- g. "... an estimate of between 8 000 and 10 000 people" (Nieuwoudt, 2013).
- h. "... illegal informal settlement of 6 000 people" (Swilling, 2012).
- i. "Reliable demographic figures are not available, given that the community had not been enumerated yet, but estimates by residents range between 6 000 and 10 000 people" (Keller, 2012).
- j. "4 000 people live here" (Duval-Smith, 2012b).

Preliminary enumeration results (by the community, the municipality and SDI/CORC) showed that the population size of Enkanini was 4 449. During the enumeration exercise, councillors (led by the Housing Portfolio councillor) visited Enkanini and found that the yards and shacks of the majority of women-headed households living in the valley (along the Plankenbrug tributary stream) were inundated with the spillover water from a municipal dam (in the upper section of the settlement) and winter rains. That visit further raised the expectations of the residents. However, when the mayor met with the community leaders on August 28, 2012, as per earlier agreement, he argued that he had never made any post-enumeration promises! The noncommitment continued even after the municipality had obtained the demographic statistics of Enkanini, as well as after visits by councillors and municipal engineers had taken place. The numerous engagements of the community with the local state were characterised by community perceptions of dishonesty, lack of commitment and unresponsiveness by the municipality, and by perceptions of municipal managers of gullibility as well as frustration and violence on the part of the shack dwellers.

The above description mirrors the predicament of informal settlements and shack dwellers' attempts to formulate a sense of belonging to urban society, with the focus on Enkanini informal settlement (Kayamandi).

'Enkanini' is an isiXhosa locative noun derived from a noun (*inkani*) that means 'stubbornness', 'opposition' and 'forcefulness'. Enkanini literally means a place of stubbornness, resistance and force. According to Charmaz (2006:396), names and identity formations are "rooted in actions and give rise to specific practices" and this applies to Enkanini.

Enkanini settlement was illegally established in 2007, on the south of Kayamandi Township in Stellenbosch, a town in the Western Cape Province of South Africa (see Figure 1). Geographically, it is bounded by two Kayamandi neighbourhoods to the north – Snake Valley and Zone O. There are factories in the Plankenbrug industrial zone to the south and farms that extend to the Onder Papegaaiberg suburb to the west. In terms of political boundaries, before 2007 the area currently occupied by Enkanini settlement fell under Ward 11, Onder Papegaaiberg.

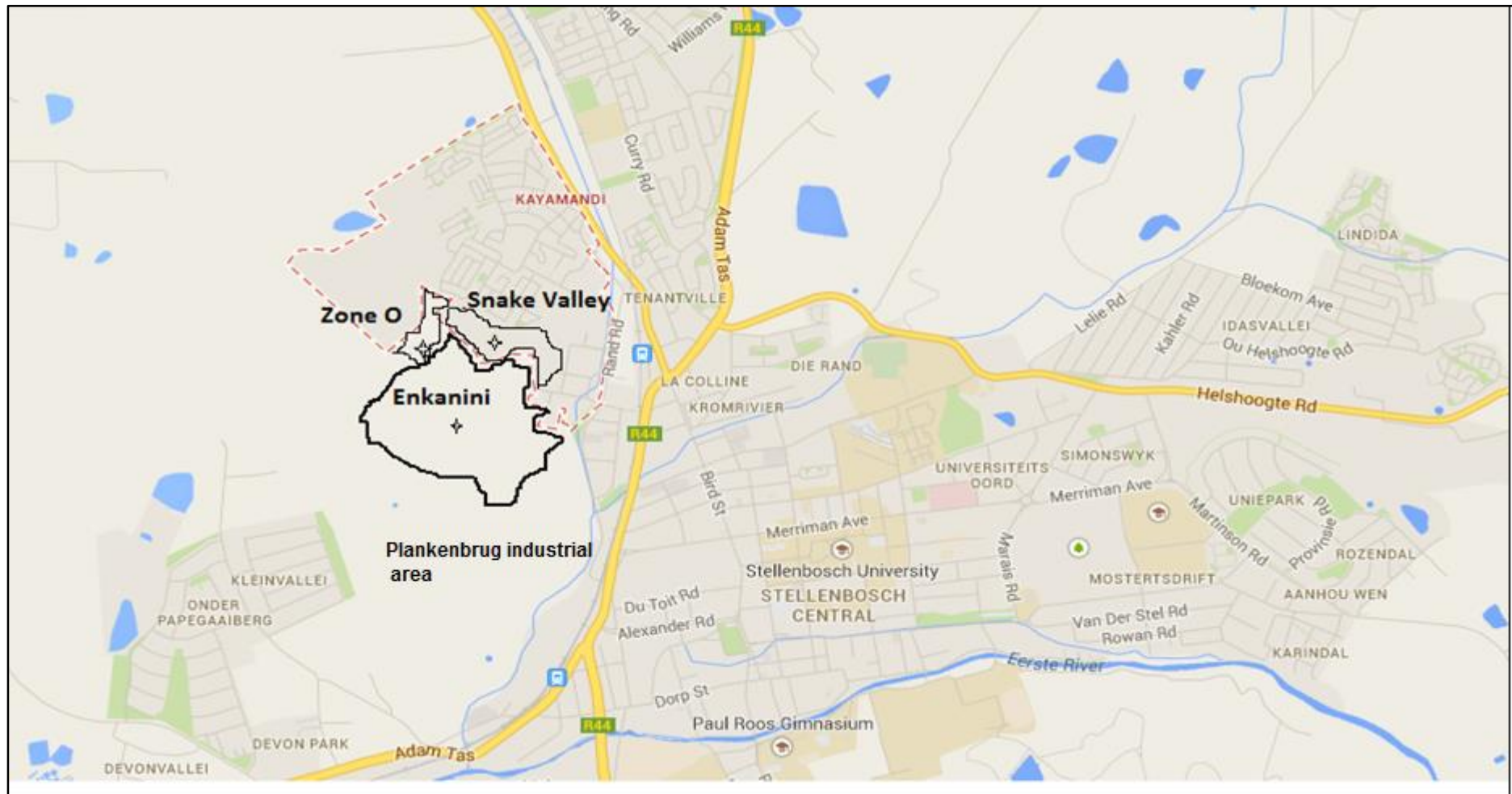


Figure 1. Locality map of Enkanini adapted from Google Maps, 2014.

Onder Papegaaiberg's mainly white community was worried that the sheer number of residents in the new settlement would influence their choice of a councillor in future elections. Enkanini's formation was also a political opportunity for mainly black politicians in Kayamandi. This led to some gerrymandering and ward boundary adjustments before the 2011 local government elections. As a result, Enkanini was sequestered from the Onder Papegaaiberg ward and incorporated into the Kayamandi wards. Currently, it falls under Ward 12, represented by a black councillor in Stellenbosch Municipality.

The municipality has been unresponsive to the grossly inadequate service provision in Enkanini since its formation. Not only are the few existing services a glaring example of sheer service underprovision, but the processes through which they are provided reflect the forms of polarised community-state engagements that are central to this study.

The core argument of this study is that, despite the constraints on Enkanini residents to achieve their goals (as experienced in the municipality's efforts to ignore and suppress them), and despite their one-time patrons (leaders in neighbouring Kayamandi who assisted them for a while in their battles with the municipality) having turned out to be against them when they asserted their autonomy and then tried to hold them back in their struggles – even to the extent of being revanchist -- they (Enkanini residents) did make some gains, particularly in establishing a sense for themselves of their urban citizenship and in engaging autonomously in struggles towards that end.

To achieve that goal, this study documents and interprets the experience and actions of informal settlement residents in their struggle to inhabit and gain a foothold in urban society. In order to capture the strides that shack dwellers had made in their attempt to belong to the city<sup>1</sup>, this study focused on the experiential and conceptual dimensions of issues that are pertinent to the understanding of informal settlements. These are the genealogical moments that inform present realities, the incomplete nature of residents' inhabitancy of what they understand to be urban society, the realities of slum upgrading and shack dweller-state encounters and the constrained enactment of citizenship.

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<sup>1</sup> I theoretically use the term 'city' as a general geographical metaphor for urban centres, to reflect on inequalities and contestations that pervade megacities as well as small towns like Stellenbosch.

## 1.2 Improving the lives of slum dwellers

Policies for improving the lives of slum dwellers often make reference to slum upgrading as an intervention strategy, but there is a lack of elaboration on how this unfolds in local contexts. There is convergence between an attitude of abandonment or neglect on the side of the neoliberal state and a protest mood among the shack dwellers. What is referred to in this study as a neoliberal state is a transformed state that, within the context of urban service provision, redirects responsibilities from its earlier universal commitments towards a corporatized commercial distribution system. Gentle (2008) has shown that there was a first turning point in this direction when the 1987 amendment to the Electricity Act (42/1922), by the reformed apartheid state, reshaped the Electricity Supply Commission (Eskom) in the Eskom Act (41/1987) – a turning point which was consolidated when the post-apartheid government enacted the Eskom Conversion Act (13/2001). Prior to the 1987 amendment, the Electricity Act specified that electricity shall be supplied in the public interest, with operations to be sustained neither at a profit nor a loss. The 1987 Eskom Act changed this by legislating that electricity provision shall be carried out in a cost-effective manner and subject to resource constraints. The 2001 amendment further corporatized Eskom by putting it under the Companies Act, thus making it a dividend and tax paying entity. Though Eskom has remained a parastatal, its corporatization has led to the commodification of service provision. Since the 1987 amendment added that electricity shall be provided in the national interest, and since the Department of Energy's then energy policy discouraged the extension of electricity services to informal settlements, there emerged an unwillingness to extend services to informal settlements. This was aggravated by perceptions of informal settlements as incubators of dangerous classes (Pithouse 2012a).

Though other energy suppliers are willing to provide electricity services, the current legal framework of South Africa's energy sector gives Eskom a monopoly which provides a national grid and sells power in bulk to municipalities which then distribute it to consumers *within* their jurisdiction, using their local grid and reticulation networks, subject to legislation and regulation by national and provincial government. Again, as illustrated in this study, many informal settlements fall outside this grid. Gentle (2008) also highlights that Eskom has and still is managed by executives who are engineers of capitalist reform

within the energy sector. That said, and while partial privatization of Eskom has been mooted, this is still only a proposal.

The present study of Enkanini informal settlement provides a local context for understanding the varied conditions and processes of struggles for citizenship by shack dwellers in urban South Africa. It shows how these struggles occur against a background of state policies that have been dominated by the rhetoric of *in situ* upgrading, e.g. the Informal Settlement Upgrading Policy of the national state (Huchzermeyer 2006) and the *Isidima* Strategy of the Western Cape Province (Smit 2009). Stellenbosch Municipality's Informal Settlement Unit has formulated its own slum intervention programmes with achievements more visible in the municipal area's second-largest (but older) shack settlement (Langrug in Franschhoek, a town only relatively recently (2000) incorporated into Stellenbosch's greater municipal area) than in the now larger Enkanini. Residents in the study area considered themselves as neglected in comparison with the interventions that had been carried out at Langrug. This has resulted in several forms of engagement with the municipality as a way of finding solutions to address their concerns. These engagements were characterised by processes, events and activities that became the research objects of this study.

### **1.3 Mobilisation of informal settlement dwellers and ways of engaging the state**

Enkanini's identity as a place of force and stubbornness resonates with discussions in the literature of 'insurgent and transgressive citizenship' in Brazil by James Holston (1991; 1995; 2008) and Lucy Earle (2012), 'globalisation from below' and 'deep democracy' by Arjun Appadurai (2000a; 2002b), as well as Partha Chatterjee's 'popular politics' by a "population whose very livelihood or habitation involves violation of the law" (2004:40). However, on the ground, elusive housing promises by the post-apartheid state have 'augmented informality' (Lemanski, 2009) by adhering to the conventional mode of housing provision. The state has continued with the conventional mode of housing provision despite widespread evidence (Klug and Vawda, 2009; Royston, 2009) of its exclusionary aspects and nonresponsiveness in addressing the housing challenges of



the urban poor<sup>2</sup>. The conventional mechanisms of housing provision have made only a small contribution to housing supply, while housing backlogs have reached unmanageable levels (Bolnick and Bradlow, 2010). Those waiting for the state have in some instances sought to secure their own homes by invading available land (Huchzermeyer, 2003) to build a shack. Their argument is, “Better a shack now than wait 20 years for a formal house” (Bolnick and Bradlow, 2010:37) from government. In this informal alternative, the urban poor resist and circumvent or convolute the conventional planning-service-building-occupying (PSBO) sequence, mostly in OBSP (occupying-building-service-planning) or OBPS (occupying-building-planning-service) permutations. PSBO is “a formal model that is the basis of most urban planning systems” (Sliuzas, Kuffer and Masser, 2010:69).

Prefixing most informal settlements’ development processes with ‘O’ (land occupation) highlights the significance of informal land occupation or invasion as a mode of urban land access and exposes the PSBO path as a spatial injustice (Berner, 2001; Harvey, 2003; Iveson, 2011). While securing a toehold in urban society through informal methods, the poor simultaneously position themselves as unconnected to service provision and other resource distribution networks. This is because basic urban service delivery by the state is predominantly premised on the PSBO grid. According to Watson (2009), this kind of exclusionary process ‘sweeps away’ the poor.

Furthermore, the mobilised shack dwellers have appropriated the term ‘slum dweller’ or ‘informal settlement dweller’, stripped it of its pathological connotations and used it boldly to advance their struggle to belong. This boldness has evolved within and around innovative forms of political and rights-based activism (Robins, 2008) – claiming rights to land, housing and urban services. As Miraftab and Wills (2005) state, this is because the concept of urban citizenship in South Africa has been constructed mainly around the axis

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<sup>2</sup> Despite using this apparently homogenising term, this study does not by any means homogenize the urban poor, as the aspects of gender, period of stay in the settlement; and age are shown to have had a significant influence in the mobilisation of Enkanini residents. Also, though not within the scope of this study, there is evidence indicating that some non-poor urban dwellers with strong ties in rural areas (and who envision their retirement there and thus invest in asset built-up in their rural homes) chose to live in informal settlements (Spiegel, Watson and Wilkinson, 1996; Smit, 1998). Though they can afford the formal neighbourhoods, they shy away from diverting expenditure to the city and remit money to the rural areas, and hence cannot be categorised as the ‘urban poor’.



of accessibility to housing and provision of basic urban services to urban dwellers. Moreover, various forms of mobilisation and activism have led to grassroots movements with horizontal networks in and outside the country. Examples include, among others, *Abahlali baseMjondolo* (AbM), the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Coalition (WCAEC), the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) and the Coalition of the Urban Poor (CUP). These movements have attempted to build their mobilisation around policy promises that relate to improving the lives of slum dwellers.

#### **1.4 Slum upgrading disjuncture and shack dwellers' aspirations**

A policy environment conducive to addressing the plight of shack dwellers was created by the then National Department of Housing's Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements, also called 'Breaking New Ground' (BNG) (Department of Housing, 2004b), and its informal upgrading instrument, Chapter 13/Part 3 of the Housing Code (Department of Housing, 2004a). The Department of Housing's Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme, launched in 2004, makes *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements possible with minimal disruption of the lives of residents (Huchzermeyer, 2006). This can be interpreted as a victory for residents in informal settlements who have experienced eviction, demolition and relocation to sites that are at great distances from their employment opportunities, schools and clinics.

Although BNG and Chapter 13/Part 3 of the Housing Code have been lauded as progressive (Huchzermeyer, 2006; Klug and Vawda, 2009; Royston, 2009), it has also been argued that policy does not order practice (Lewis and Mosse, 2006; Rao and Walton, 2004). Their argument is that the 'success' of a development intervention does not emanate from the "prior logic of policy" (Lewis and Mosse, 2006:5) but from the discursive interpretations that are given by multiple actors during implementation. There is often a consequent gap between 'intentions and outcome'; 'what is said and what is done' (ibid), reflecting an inconsistency along any assumed linear path from policy to action (Quarles van Ufford, Giri and Mosse, 2003). Intervention's prior logic or 'order/organisation', say Lewis and Mosse (2006), Rossi (2004) and Roth (2006) encounters a disjuncture. For instance, the state's response to AbM, characterised by

labelling it as a 'Third Force',<sup>3</sup> arbitrary imprisonment and killings, are in stark opposition to the ethos of *in situ* upgrading. This clear contradiction between stated policy and state action has led to the conclusion that BNG is a progressive policy without progressive politics (Groenewald, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2010; Pithouse, 2009). As Del Mistro and Hensher (2009:333) point out, while BNG acknowledges the plurality of housing alternatives, in practice "a house on a fully serviced property with freehold title" is seen as the only option. This reflects a persisting fixation on or hegemony of the PSBO pathway to housing development and city making amongst urban development technocrats.

Consequently, as demonstrated by the Enkanini example, informal urban settlements are systematically neglected and abandoned by the local state. The reason being that, as they are informal and not having followed a PSBO developmental sequence, they possess inherent features that alienate them from the resource distribution networks. These distribution networks for urban services are located in normative enclosures: norms that confine and essentialise housing development and urban services to the PSBO spatial framework. Settlements evolving outside this framework tend then to be excluded from resource flows and privileges that are channelled through conventional spatial orders. Informal settlements are therefore excluded from the vital axes of urban living, as they evolve outside this framework. Their residents' membership in urban societies needs to be explained through the connection of their inhabitants to the flows of resources, while acknowledging that these resource flows tend to be reticulated in the exclusionary PSBO grid. There is also a need to understand how shack dwellers articulate their thoughts and desires as they engage within contexts involving urban engineers, planners and other urban settlement officials; who are products of social pedagogies that orient municipal officials to connect or provide service delivery to built environments created along the PSBO grid (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

### **1.5 The state's responses to slum challenges and shack dwellers' counterresponses**

While researchers (Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Huchzermeyer, 2011; 2013) have explained the tendency of South African municipalities to transform slum upgrading policy into a

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<sup>3</sup> That is, a "surreptitious force ... attempting to undermine the ANC government" (Zikode, 2006:185).

neoliberal project for doing away with informality, it is essential to elaborate on the state's salient responses to the growing slum challenges. The need for elaboration is built upon recent conceptualisations of the governmentality of informal settlements that still need scholarly attention. It is also essential to explain the counterresponses of shack dwellers to the governmentality of their settlements. This elaboration needs to exploit the recent illuminative depictions in Agamben's (2005) 'states of exception' and Yiftachel's (2009) 'creeping urban apartheid'. These two concepts illustrate how the sovereign biopower is differentially deployed to make live or let die. This involves reducing some of the population's lives to a biological minimum, which is defined by Butler (2004:67) as "suspended life and suspended death".

According to Huchzermeyer (2011), the state's asserted mission to eradicate slums is premised on the interim status that the state assigns to currently existing informal settlements. The rationale behind this attitude and response is that a municipality cannot invest in urban services at locations that it intends to eradicate. For my study, the form of citizenship implied by this temporary status is exactly what was under investigation. However, literature critical of the kind of developmentalism upon which slum upgrading is premised has highlighted the phenomenon of filtered appropriation of intervention resources through resistance, apathy, rejection, accommodation or transforming development interventions (Cowen and Shenton, 1995). The postdevelopment critique, in particular, of developmentalism and that positions intervention as a point of departure and a central reference point, reveals how the active but disadvantaged poor respond to the opportunities and risks involved in any intervention (Cowen and Shenton, 1995; Olivier de Sardan, 2005). This critique has provided a framework for this study's explanation of shack dwellers' counterresponses to the state's means of addressing (and/or not addressing) their challenges. It shows that it is necessary to build upon observations of the active poor to explain ways in which shack dwellers actively encounter and interrogate states of exception in slum upgrading. It also shows that it is appropriate to document shack dwellers' responses to civil society organisations as well as to any other new entrants involved in slum upgrading practices. Such new entrants, in the Enkanini case, appeared in the form of research institutes including Stellenbosch University's incorporation of Enkanini into its set of living 'laboratories'. Since 2012, the

University's Centre for Transdisciplinarity, Sustainability, Assessment, Modelling and Analysis (TSAMA hub) has engaged with community representatives in order to co-produce knowledge and "inform a transition to a more liveable and sustainable Enkanini" (Botman, 2011:8). Yet, university-community (or town-gown) collaborations in South Africa have been problematised as disempowering and exploiting the urban poor as well as demobilising them (Walsh, 2008). While claiming to be working with communities, researchers have been criticised for immobilising shack dwellers in the latter's efforts to engage with the state and express their needs (Böhmke, 2010; Naidoo, n.d; Walsh, 2009). Research innovations regarding shack dwellers' access to sustainable energy solutions in 2012, in which Enkanini was put on the world stage, will be used below to illustrate emergent and questionable town-gown collaborations.

### **1.6 'Acts' of citizenship and constraints**

Literature in citizenship studies has highlighted the need to interpret the extent to which practices and acts by those claiming rights constitute the enactment of citizenship. This emphasis comes from the shift from a focus on citizenship as a status and *habitus* to the 'act' and 'acts' of citizenship. Previously, citizenship was viewed as emerging only from enduring practices and institutions. According to Isin (2008a:16), a focus on the acts of citizenship is necessary given "the new intensity of struggles over citizenship ... associated with global movements and flows of capital, labour and people". Isin observes the phenomenon of subjects becoming claimants of rights even when least expected, by embodying certain bold and *habitus*-breaking practices (ibid). Considering that South Africa has been recognised as the protest capital of the world (Alexander, 2010), shack dwellers have had their share of the country's social movements and performative acts. What has the mobilisation of shack dwellers achieved in terms of reversing the systemic exclusion that is inherent in their formations? There is also the risk that the gains garnered by shack dwellers' mobilisations might be reversed given the presence of competing discourses by many actors (state, researchers, local politicians and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), among others) on the theme of slum upgrading. Hence there is a

need to identify and study the contexts that entangle shack dwellers in their quest to integrate into urban society and its resource distribution networks.

Furthermore, the history and anthropology of insurgent citizenship is not yet sufficiently consolidated to give an understanding of the urban poor's inclusion in the city (Fischer 2010), and the above factors highlight calls to revisit 'insurgent citizenship'. The concept of insurgent citizenship portrays the marginalised confronting the state and its projects that (re)produce inequality. James Holston recently highlighted in a public lecture (March 12, 2012) at Stockholm University that insurgent urban citizenship was ensnared in precariousness, within existing formal systems that perpetuated inequality and new forms of activism characterised by destabilisation and violence (cf. Holston and Caldeira, 2008). At the other extreme, reliance on patronage – as revealed in Robins' (2008) study of conflicts in the South African Homeless People's Federation (SAHPF) at Victoria Mxenge (Cape Town) – reverses the scenario of the poor's hope in and reliance on the state to deliver. I intended to study the pursuit of citizenship by the Enkanini residents who are situated between and outside these extremes, and to illustrate the dynamics of their acts and the extent to which these acts constituted the enactment of citizenship.

### **1.7 Research problem**

The grassroots movements that have emerged from the mobilisation of shack dwellers have been described by Bond (2012) as 'sites of people power'. It is appropriate to note that the mobilisations are in no way homogeneous, as they include extremely varied approaches, ranging from radicalism or confrontation with the state to acquiescence to the state and local politicians. Their heterogeneity reflects the complex influence that they have on informal settlements. There is a tendency among settlements emerging after these mobilisations, to adopt a combination of strategies to attract the attention of the state, to the extent that they can hardly be defined or identified as radical, confrontational or acquiescent. The multiple ways of securing resources to improve their settlements, especially how this unfolds in small towns, is still not yet adequately understood.

Enkanini residents have developed multiple networks with other informal settlements as well as advocacy groups such as the Informal Settlement Network [ISN], CORC, and FEDUP as well as the University of Stellenbosch. I considered these networks as forming a continuum from radicalism and patronage by the state to partnership with research communities. The study sought to understand how the residents constructed their citizenship on the basis of the historical models before them. This has been done through tracing the extent to which the mobilisation of shack dwellers registered gains for the urban poor in their relationships with the state. Current research on shack dwellers' struggle for citizenship in South Africa is dominated by the AbM story, and this study has attempted to avoid this narrative subsuming other narratives.

Central to this study is the investigation of how Enkanini residents pursued their right to the city and urban citizenship. The predicaments of shack dwellers raise questions about their urbanity as well as their acts and practices to access resources and improve their neighbourhood. I envisaged such processes to gain access to resources and improved life, as well as the political acts or practices associated with them, as a form of urbanism that seeks to escape the limitations of slum life and to reject certain boundaries. This required an understanding of the form of citizenship that the residents are pursuing. I deployed the metaphor of 'insurgent citizenship' (Holston 1995; 2008) to trace, interpret and explain the urban poor's action space and claim-making practices. I also sought to further understand what sort of differentiated room for manoeuvre was secured, expanded and transformed by shack dwellers into ladders or escape routes out of their slum living conditions. The room for manoeuvre was constructed around the engagements between the shack dwellers and the local state.

To comprehend the extent to which shack dwellers' insurgent practices advanced their cause, the study sought to understand how the current neoliberal state in urban South Africa responds to insurgent mobilisations by shack dwellers. Current research seems to be fixated on a technocratic argument that slum upgrading programmes have to mean 'eradication of informal settlements' and a reproduction of the PSBO spatial form, a perspective which is perfectly in line with the Cities Alliance's neoliberal motto of 'cities without slums' (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This requires a two-fold elaboration which this

study pursued. Firstly, how do municipalities entrench the PSBO hegemony in their discourse and practice concerning slum upgrading? Secondly, it was equally important to ask a question that will be a departure from current fixations: What are the interests and demands of shack dwellers in these debates? This required an understanding of shack dwellers' counter-responses to the discourses and practices of the local state on slum upgrading. While the criticisms of the neoliberal policy's tendency not to recognise the contribution of informality in housing production and city making (Boonyabancha, 2005; Graham, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2002) are credible and acknowledged, some nuances are ignored in current literature. I have attempted to describe and interpret these nuances that are not always apparent. These nuances relate to the contradictory and muted sentiments of shack dwellers. Failure to capture these intricate sentiments of shack dwellers is likely to misrepresent the voice of the poor by researchers and activists. While researchers have criticised the exclusionary features of the conventional processes of housing development, the desires of shack dwellers are not adequately represented in the critiques. This study, therefore, sought to investigate and interpret shack dwellers' autonomous articulations of their habitat desires in the contexts of several actors who spoke for them and/or (mis)translated their autonomously articulated claims for urban citizenship.

Although Agamben's concepts of 'camp' and 'state of exception' offer a rich framework to capture how the state positions shack settlements in urban society, his thesis has been criticised for its tendency to perceive those occupying abject spaces as depoliticised subjects (Colatrella, 2011). Through this study, I consequently explored the political dimension of the abject space by specifically focusing on shack dwellers. Furthermore, Agamben's concepts of camp and state of exception have predominantly been applied to migration and undocumented foreign workers and less to shack dwellers. Where the concepts of camp and state of exception have been applied to shack settlements, they have been biased towards cases of demolition and removals (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Selmeczi, 2012a and 2012b; Walsh, 2009). Existing tolerated and non-demolished shack settlements deserve particular scholarly attention as their existence embodies forms of exclusionary inclusion. This study sought to complement work on revanchism against



shack settlements by focusing on *in situ* challenges faced by shack settlements that were not threatened by demolition or resettlement.

Attempting to trace and explain political and non-political acts, it was necessary to extend the trope of resistance by highlighting the *transformative narratives* that would reflect the construction and extension of urban citizenships. This follows from Isin's (2009) emphasis on the need to capture the way in which object (alien) or subject (outsider) is transformed into a citizen through 'acts of citizenship'. This study utilised these acts of citizenship to portray how shack dwellers' claim-making practices bring out ways in which their 'act' "... disrupts already defined orders, practices and statuses" and "... force[s] open the gates of the city" (ibid: 384; 383). Furthermore, the edges of current research on insurgent citizenship raise a dilemma for shack dwellers: the same insurgencies that previously claimed rights were embedded in and intertwined with practices (mainly violent) that also unsettled the coherence and sustenance of their mobilisation. This study proffers additional interpretations to these imbroglios, as two main issues emerged from the frequent protests by shack dwellers. One is the way in which the state becomes embarrassed by issues of neglect and violation of socio-economic rights raised in the press, and the subsequent public statements that it makes in addressing the expressed concerns. The second issue is the form of violence used by protesters to express their frustrations. To what extent then do the imbroglios emphasised in the literature weaken the steps taken and reverse gains by shack dwellers in order to be effectively incorporated into the city? In this study, I used ethnographic description of the contexts from which insurgencies occurred in order to understand how intricate situations faced by shack dwellers affected the processes and objects of their mobilisation.

### **1.8 Objectives of the study and research questions**

The general aim of the study is to interpret and explain Enkanini residents' struggles for the right to the city and citizenship. This broader objective was divided into five subgoals, namely:

- a) To explain how the everyday struggles of residents are informed by the history of insurgent citizenship in South Africa.



- b) To explain how residents engaged with the state in informal settlement upgrading to:
  - i. build the city from below and
  - ii. adapt the PSBO process.
- c) To examine how technocratic components of upgrading were resisted/rejected, accommodated or accepted.
- d) To identify and explain how urban citizenship was extended.
- e) To assess how residents escaped from the entanglements of insurgent citizenship.

The main research question is: How do Enkanini residents pursue their right to the city and urban citizenship? The study attempts to answer this question by dividing the main question into five broad aims.

The *first aim* of the study is to explain how the everyday struggles of residents of informal settlements were informed by the history of insurgent citizenship in South Africa. This phenomenon of insurgent citizenship is contextualised within South African realities where, to the poor, the state still remains an ‘ultimate bearer of responsibility’ (Cook, 2009) in poverty reduction. The judiciary’s interpretation of South Africa’s constitutionally based socio-economic guarantees also holds that it is its role to measure the state against its obligation of ‘progressive realisation’ of the rights of the poor to shelter (De Vos, 2009; Tissington, 2010).

The *second aim* was to explain how residents engaged with the state in informal settlement upgrading. The basis is to understand the extent to which the municipality acknowledged informal settlements as part of its recognised built environment. This perception is important as it influences the nature of slum upgrading pursued by the municipality. Municipalities can pursue *in situ* upgrading, which recognises city making from below or the contribution of informal settlements in housing provision and city making. Chapter 13/Part 3 of the National Housing Code, which has been lauded as progressive because of its focus on *in situ* upgrading, has a symbolic significance in regularising informal settlements. The study also assesses the extent to which the state

envisaged slum upgrading as the eradication of existing informal settlements and the reproduction of neighbourhoods modelled around the conventional and exclusionary process. The latter represents nonrecognition of the contribution of informal settlements in housing provision and city making. It is also argued that this latter mode of upgrading is extremely technocratic, nonparticipatory and problematic in the sense that urban planners impose conventional processes of creating built environments that 'sweep away the poor' (Watson, 2009) by marginalising them on the grid of privileges.

The *third aim* is to examine the ensuing informal-formal encounters so as to explain the technocratic components that were resisted or rejected, accommodated or accepted and transformed. This is crucial in the sense that as dominant slum upgrading practices are premised on developmentalism, there are bound to be interfaces and encounters (Lewis and Mosse, 2006) between interventions and local actors. The 'target population' in development interventions has been viewed by Cowen and Shenton (1995) as non-passive recipients who devise ways of appropriating, selecting, rejecting, accommodating and regularly subverting interventions (Olivier de Sardan, 2005). It is therefore important to examine the ways in which different actors dynamically construct and navigate within the upgrading discourse and practices. In the study of acts of citizenship, the emphasis is on the need to pursue the "calculability, responsibility and intentionality" (Isin, 2008a:28) of everyday practices.

The *fourth aim* is to identify and explain how urban citizenship was extended. The focus here is on explaining the way in which citizenship was not only constructed but also extended to deepen the foothold in the urban realm.

Taking into account the terrain of insurgent citizenship in which the marginalised are entangled and entangle themselves in, the *fifth aim* is to assess how residents escaped from the entanglements and vulnerabilities of insurgent citizenship.

## 1.9 Research design

To pursue the aims of the study, I needed a framework that would enhance the capture and construction of the meaning of shack dwellers' membership of or belonging to urban society. In particular, this study needed a design that would facilitate the capture of the viewpoints about the mobilisation of shack dwellers and their engagements with the state. A *qualitative design* was chosen because it is characterised as an "intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures, and various blends of material" (Creswell, 2007:35). This facilitated the collecting of data that yielded a 'sympathetic and charitable translation and interpretation' (Schweizer, 1998) and 'respectful representation' (Kouritzin, 2002) of the life worlds of shack dwellers. This interpretive dimension builds on the view that "the meaning of things is not inherent" (Harris, 2010:2) as all objects "derive their meaning from the purposes and perspectives that people bring to them" (ibid: 2). It also argues that social phenomena are interpreted entities whose existence and qualities are greatly dependent on people's meaning-making practices. This perspective therefore required that I immerse myself in the voices of research participants (Hoare, Buetow, Mills and Francis, 2013). This was influenced by Walsh's (2008) problematisation of the role of researchers in degrading and disrupting the informal settlement discourse and immobilising the mobilisation of shack dwellers in South Africa, while claiming to emancipate the same research subjects (see Chapter 2). The data required had to shed light on both historical and expected future facets of the studied community. This was essential because the genealogical aspect facilitates an understanding of how current cultural realities in shack settlements emanate from somewhere (Spencer, 2001) and are a 'historically bounded formation' (Mantzoukas, 2010; cf Faubion, 2001). In contrast, shack dwellers' practices of encroaching on the city and their claims to dignified living express the fact that their 'city is yet to come' (Simone, 2004) and thus requires an interpretive twist of the current and historical struggles for urban inclusion and their imagined city. Myers (2004) argues that the future and its objects should be central to anthropological studies if the discipline is to sustain its place in social science.

In order to ensure easy access to data that could facilitate an anthropological response to the research question, ethnography was chosen as an appropriate and specific

qualitative approach. Ethnography is the study of “social interactions, behaviours, and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organizations, and communities” (Reeves, Kuper and Hodges, 2008:512). It is a “written account of the cultural life of a social group, organization or community which may focus on a particular aspect of life in that setting” (Watson, 2008: 100). It also involves a study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives by entering into the research setting and recording the intimately known cultures of the researched (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011). This approach was used in up-close observation of emerging themes of belongingness that unfolded in different arenas. Those arenas were mostly in the form of protests, meetings, a self-enumeration process and a 400km journey to George (Western Cape, South Africa). The critical gesture of the research involved a confrontation with the dominant discourses and clarification of the operations of power that naturalise state abandonment in the Enkanini context. Tracing and explaining the struggles of shack dwellers as they showed their recalcitrance towards the rhetoric of the municipality and political brokers also required this critical attitude. As Humphreys and Watson (2009) maintain, intensive fieldwork precedes ethnographic writing. The next section therefore presents dimensions of my immersion in the Enkanini (Kayamandi) community.

### **1.9.1 Constituting the ‘field’: ‘In’ and ‘of’ the field**

Lederman (1990) and Sanjek (1990) clarify the developments that emerged within the community of anthropologists on what constituted a ‘field’. The argument was that the traditional and qualifying confessionals of ‘being there’ were a preoccupation with convincing fellow anthropologists of the authenticity of a researcher’s fieldwork. This risked eclipsing the content and texture in the descriptions ‘of’ the field. While acknowledging the creed of sustaining a prolonged, focused and intensive presence within the studied community, it was equally essential to capture processes and connections that embodied further dimensions of social events. Lederman (1992) and Sanjek (1990) advocated the need to avoid becoming obsessed with being physically there but rather to focus on fieldnotes and other descriptions of the field. This emphasis was a commitment to writing ethnographies of the communities we, as researchers,

embed ourselves in instead of being drowned by expectations of the anthropologists and others who would constitute our readership. George Marcus' 'multi-sited' ethnographic method questioned the Malinowskian complex, that is, "ethnography of peoples, places and cultures *in situ*" (Marcus, 2005:2). His argument was that research units or objects had spatio-temporal transience or fluidity that resulted in distributed knowledge systems. Further work on this subject sought to understand what "constitutes an adequate field" (Nadai and Maeder, 2009:233). The emphasis was on the fact that the field is not a place "'somewhere out there', but needs to be constructed by the researcher" (ibid: 236). In this study, I adopted Hannerz's (2006) notion of "being there ... and there ... and there" as a strategy for constructing "spatially dispersed objects of ethnographic study such as following people, things, metaphors, plots, stories, allegories, lives, biographies and conflicts" (Nadai and Maeder, 2009:236). This was necessary in order to produce an account of Enkanini that was adequately contextualised in terms of actors and arenas. Hannerz (2006) further stresses that the post-classical era of social anthropology has reinvented itself along the "shifting notion, and arguments about proper locations" (23) through studying 'downwards', 'upwards', 'sideways', 'through', 'backwards', 'forwards', 'away' and at 'home' (ibid).

The above characterisation provided adjectives for my emergent, blended or pragmatic ethnography. 'Away' ethnographies related to the classical era of search for 'native societies' far away from ethnographers' home area (Clifford, 1990). In this study, I immersed myself in the Enkanini community, continuously developing rapport with the residents. There was also some virtual distance in the contrast between my University and Enkanini, reflected in a question raised by one of the directors in the municipality<sup>4</sup> as I introduced myself and my study. In a somewhat condescending tone, he questioned why I chose Enkanini as the focus of my ethnography. His comments were based on his view of Stellenbosch as a town for 'rich people and academics', not for shack dwellers. In a sense, socio-economic distance positions Enkanini as an 'away' field with an abundance of 'strange' living environments in one of the most highly resourced municipalities in South Africa (Jordan, 2009). For an ethnographer, work 'at home' and

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<sup>4</sup> In an informal conversation.

‘sideways’ involves fieldwork in not-so-distant places. Here, the researcher defamiliarises the familiar and taken-for-granted representation of communities, practices and lives similar to those where he or she comes from. This direction positions Enkanini within the ‘esteem’ of the town. The incorporation of Enkanini into the University’s TSAMA hub collaborative research also locates Enkanini within the boundaries of ‘home’. The ethnography is also a sideways movement into the dominant urban black South Africa township narratives, as the parentheses in Enkanini (Kayamandi) not only differentiate the study site from another Enkanini in Khayelitsha township but also from the dominance of the township narrative in studies on urban peripheries in South Africa.

Hannerz’s (2006) characterisation also distinctly identifies classical ethnography’s preoccupation with less powerful and less privileged communities (when compared to those of researchers) and labels this ‘downward’ ethnography. The field might be called thus from the municipality’s and urban planners’ dominant attitude to informal settlements, namely that informality is an aberration and an antithesis of urban planning practice, with the latter elevating design, legibility and social engineering while the former is a product of organic emergence. The aforementioned director’s perjorative remarks, as well as those of the Kayamandi township residents who also position Enkanini as being in the lower social order of human settlements, position Enkanini downwards. For instance, a university student staying in Kayamandi, whose assistance I had sought to facilitate my access to the site, also protested against my choice of study area. Her concerns were on the darkness of the settlement due to lack of electricity.

In order to obtain an adequate context of what shapes powerlessness and poverty, Hannerz (2006) highlights moments when it is necessary for anthropologists to study ‘upwards’, with the focus being on “scrutinizing the activities of the people at the top” (ibid: 24). In the context of this study, a number of actors involved in the shack dwellers’ narrative dispossession were included in my ethnography. I tracked the shifts of the Enkanini narrative from its residents to translators and interlocutors hosted in institutions such as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the Kayamandi Development Forum (KDF), SDI/CORC, the municipality, councillors and academics, among others.

Regardless of the direction from which one's ethnography is approached, it is also necessary to construct an ethnographic field through "tracing webs of relations between actors, institutions and discourses" (ibid: 24). The constellation of the above actors and their roles and discourses about, for and on Enkanini reveals a situational and ideational field that I was sensitive to. Hannerz (2006) labels this as studying 'through'.

The subdiscipline of historical anthropology or the 'history of the present' contends that present realities have a 'backward' orientation (Hannerz, 2006). My first research question relied on this orientation, particularly when I was going through documents of the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court relating to the municipality's application for the eviction of the residents of Enkanini during the early years of the settlement's formation. The opposite of the backward orientation is related to Myers' (2004) 'anthropology of the future', which is in keeping with Hannerz's 'forward' ethnography. The futuristic dimension comes from residents' constructions of an utopian imagined urbanity of and for themselves.

Dalsgaard (2013) highlights a hitherto obscured dimension in the debate on constructing the field: temporality. He maintains that the field is also a 'temporal entity' in the sense that the "fieldworker follows a process, not only over time, but from time to time" (Ibid: 214). The notion of 'time to time' is illustrative of the 'multitemporality' imperative and has to emerge from the researcher's ethnographic practice. This perspective emerged from my tracing of the genealogical 'moments' of Enkanini such as occupation, demolitions by the police and the so-called Red Ants<sup>5</sup>, legal battles, a duration of calmness associated with the election to power of neighbouring Kayamandi leaders who assumed a role of political patrons for Enkanini residents and ensuing protests when those patrons lost executive control of the municipal administration. Interviews and informal conversation with 'pioneer' settlers amongst Enkanini residents aided data gathering on these aspects of my study.

This research is in keeping with contemporary trends of focus on topics and research questions that can be answered within a limited amount of time (ibid) so as to satisfy the

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<sup>5</sup> A security firm that is hired by municipalities to provide eviction of illegal occupants of properties.

demands of the academic authorities' timetables, which I have had to respect. However, my research did not translate into 'quick and dirty' excursions resulting in thin descriptions. My fieldwork preparation stages, linguistic capabilities and early establishment of rapport with key informants and gatekeepers enabled a capture of the relatively saturated rhythm of Enkanini's social realities. This capture then facilitated the production of a coherent set of ethnographic material or 'luminous data' (Katz, 2001).

Enkanini was chosen as being part of collaborative research work done by the TSAMA hub and the Sustainability Institute (SI) as the visible intervening actors. I started my research by participating in reflective SI seminar discussions by postgraduate students and a visit to Enkanini. On the first visit, there was a notable language barrier limitation; having to rely on one of the residents interpreting to virtually non-isiXhosa-speaking 'visitors'. My acquaintance with the language evoked within me a strong desire to obtain a direct and holistic account of Enkanini beyond the generalities about environmental issues and the particular interest, amongst the SI students, in energy, which dominated the focus of the visiting group. Although the energy and waste issues were pertinent to the community, I embarked on my own study of locating these issues within the complexity of the context, aspirations and challenges of everyday life. While accompanying Professor Steven Robins to CORC/SDI, I had an unexpected reunion with a former undergraduate colleague advocating the shack dwellers' cause. This facilitated my entrance into the organisation's engagements with the community by utilising its key contact persons at Enkanini. The rest of my fieldwork consisted of a couple of months of participant observation in CORC/SDI's facilitation of engagements between informal settlements and Cape Town City's Informal Settlement Unit. Being tempted to study these communities whose 'natural' settings seemed to have been manipulated/altered by CORC/SDI's ongoing interventions, I believed that I had missed the preintervention phase. I was then informed of the planned intervention at Enkanini in the months to come. I therefore found it necessary to gain experiential knowledge of the preliminaries as well as the SI's own engagements in the area.



### 1.9.2 Description of fieldwork

According to Blommaert and Dong (2010), ethnography comprises three broad sequential stages (which can also be iterated): fieldwork preparations, actual fieldwork experience and postfieldwork analysis and writing. This subsection is devoted to the second phase, during which ethnography becomes not only a paradigm and methodological design but also a data collection tool. At this data collection stage, fieldwork is the defining metaphor used to represent the researcher's up-close relations with the research subjects. My fieldwork entailed an experiential, naturalistic or non-experimental enquiry whereby I immersed myself in the 'natural' course of the lives of Enkanini residents. This immersion of oneself in the 'alien culture' of the research subjects is aimed at "see[ing] the world in the eyes of those under investigation" (Hoare *et al.*, 2013:722-723). This emic posture and positionality provides a strategic vantage point for explaining the meanings in their contextualised settings, being close to the daily rounds of people's lives and activities (Emerson *et al.*, 2011). Proximity positions the researcher "in the midst of the key sites and scenes of others' lives in order to observe and understand them" (ibid: 2). Access to the fluid or situational and ideational realms of subjects' lives "enhances sensitivity to interaction and process" (ibid: 2). Given its processual nature, my fieldwork began with community access, followed by observation; participant observation and interviews. Community access was facilitated through the aforementioned visit to Enkanini with the SI as well as through CORC/SDI's interactions with Enkanini residents. Being conversant in isiXhosa, I had conversations with the residents who were working with the SI. Through a snowballing effect, this led me to members of the street committee, the councillor (Ward 12), KDF members and the municipality's Informal Settlement Unit officials. My rapport with CORC/SDI also made my interactions with them possible when they facilitated the enumeration process.

### 1.9.3 Participant observation

The main method of data collection adopted during fieldwork was participant observation, which is an "important rite of passage into the discipline" (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013:76) of anthropology. Participant observation, which took place from June 2012 to June 2013, "connects the researcher to the most basic of human experiences,

discovering through immersion and participation the hows and whys of human behaviour in a particular context” (ibid: 75). It produces “penetrating insights and highly contextual understanding” (ibid: 76), which harmonised well with the constructivist design adopted for my study. I sought to satisfy the fundamental demands of this technique during the fieldwork. I first had to identify the *locations of the relevant actions* to the research. These were mainly meetings of residents within the community, sometimes attended by politicians based in Kayamandi. This enabled me to undertake participant observation *in situ* and closely observe the rhythm of these meetings.

All the aforementioned forms of immersion were preceded by my *building rapport with my research participants*. In order to inspire trust and to be accepted by the Enkanini residents, to the extent that “they [could] be ‘themselves’” (Guest *et al.*, 2013:76) in my presence, I presented myself as a student at Stellenbosch University who was interested in the lives of shack dwellers and how this way of life was perceived by the residents. Conversing in isiXhosa, with my name being a popular one within the community, my access to the community was facilitated considerably by these informal conversations. My relations with CORC/SDI also kept me informed of any meetings and other events involving residents, the councillor and the municipality. Prior collegiality built with the SI’s graduate students involved in ongoing research and pilot projects at Enkanini widened my collaborative network. Similar relations were established with the municipality, particularly its Informal Settlement Unit, whose staff frequently informed me of planned council meetings with Enkanini residents or Kayamandi politicians on Enkanini issues. With the network of trust I built, such information was confirmed by SMS messages from Enkanini residents’ representatives and the councillor inviting me to events.

Given the duration of my ethnographic fieldwork, I consider my interaction with the Enkanini story adequate to satisfy my research data requirements. I believe that my interactions with multiple actors captured a considerable number of events at and about Enkanini. This ‘adequacy’ is due to the fact that from November 2011 to January 2012, there were several protests and violent clashes over the problem of electricity in Enkaneni. Prior to these events, there was what I would call a ‘demobilised state’. Accounts of the protests were narrated to me and corroborated by several actors with

whom I interacted. By the time I entered the field in June 2012 there had already been engagements and interactions between residents and the municipality. These interactions provided preparatory processes for enumeration to commence, after which interventions were promised in response to the demands made during the protests. In the aftermath of the enumeration, in which I was actively involved, frustration ensued because expectations had not been met. Protests and several emotional meetings followed one another. Violence erupted and previously established patron-client relations became fraught with conflict, resulting in what Auyero, Lapegna and Page-Poma (2009) have termed 'network breakdown'. This also led to the disappearance of local brokers-*cum*-leaders who had previously sought direct contact with the local state rather than relying on the mediation of Kayamandi political leaders who had become patrons. Their disappearance was the result of alleged death threats by those politicians. Thereafter, the situation reverted to the previous state of demobilisation. Through a summary of these events based on my fieldwork experience, I have attempted to capture the essence of the Enkanini story as well as the "important elements of human experience that are only visible to those who are actually there" (Guest *et al.*, 2013:77).

Considering the above narration of entering and experiencing the field, participant observation highlighted the advantages outlined by Bernard (2006) and Guest *et al.* (2013). These include the technique's ability to open areas of enquiry accessible only through up-close observation, participation and recording. The trust of research participants also reduced reactivity and other forms of respondent bias, as well as facilitating my understanding of the meaning of data gathered. Meaning is generated from its context. Figure 2 illustrates the forms of observation and participation that I undertook. Due to the different nature of each event and its sensitivity, my role at meetings was limited to observation and identifying immediate post-meeting events. After the meetings, I held unstructured and semistructured interviews with identified informants as a follow-up to some emerging threads and with a view to obtaining documents referred to during the meetings. Furthermore, I fully immersed myself in the enumeration exercise. This took place during CORC's facilitation in the form of supplying shack numbering sheets, enumeration forms and baseline maps. In addition, I accompanied the enumerators and observed the data capturing from enumeration forms onto the computer database by

‘recruited’ computer-‘savvy’ residents. As a result of the relations built with CORC, I was allowed to produce a brief write-up of the enumeration process on the SDI blog of September 4, 2012.

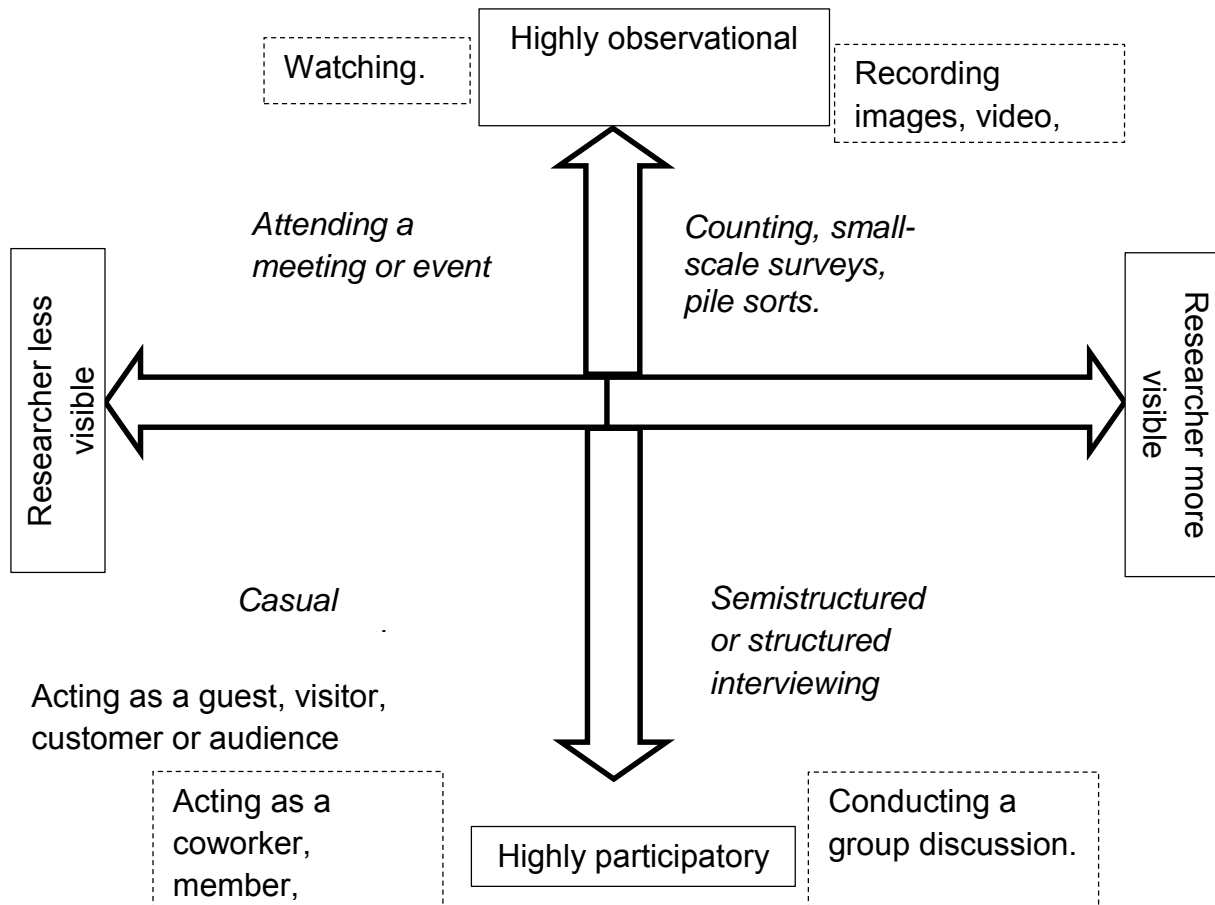


Figure 2 Participant observation continuums, adapted from Guest *et al.*, 2013:89.

### 1.9.4 Interviewing

To complement the predominant participant observation method, I carried out interviews with research participants. This was undertaken through face-to-face interactions that “generated talk with interviewees for the purpose of eliciting spoken, rather than written, data to examine research problems” (Roulston, 2010:10). According to this method, the question-answer sequence serves as a unit of interaction. Several interviewing methods have been proposed in research communities, and these have been categorised according to the structure of the interview, the adopted research methodology, the types

of questions asked and the manner of asking the research participants questions. Fontana and Frey (2005) describe three types of interviews in terms of their degree of structuring: structured, semistructured and unstructured interviews. Out of the total of 66 interviews undertaken during my fieldwork, there were 22 structured interviews and 44 unstructured interviews.

Researchers use structured interviews when they have pre-defined questions that relate to closed-ended answers, while semistructured interviews are relatively flexible. This relative flexibility comes from the mixture of both closed and open-ended questions based on interview guides. Unstructured interviews are perfectly in keeping with naturalistic enquiries such as ethnography. In such instances, research participants are given the status of not only being coproducers of knowledge but also ‘coenquirers’ (Dinkins, 2005). The latter type of interview assumes the conversational format, without pre-planned questions and answers. This research leaned towards the conversational type of interview, though some pre-planned questions were formulated in successive conversations with particular research participants. During the unstructured interviews, I organised my questions according to Spradley’s (1979) hierarchy, which will be described later. Conscious of the risk of conversations straying from the research topic, I used prompts and probes to steer conversations towards particular domains of the study during the unstructured and conversational interviews. I used Leech’s (2002) ‘floating prompts’, which make use of body language such as raising eyebrows and nodding the head as a way of clarifying particular responses, terms and remarks, while at the same time building rapport with the research participants.

In the study, I chose the ethnographic type of interviewing to “explore the meanings that people ascribe to actions and events in their cultural worlds and expressed in their own language” (Roulston, 2010:19). In my ethnographic interviews, I focused on the “key aspects related to the cultural world” (ibid: 19) of the research participants. This built on Spradley’s (1979) order of questions that enhanced depth in the interactions with research participants. Spradley’s open-ended *descriptive questions*, also called *grand tour questions*, were used in my early ethnographic journey into Enkanini. The descriptions from research participants provided an oral tour of the genesis of Enkanini,

*ukusokola* (to suffer in life) experienced and mobilisations by slum dwellers to engage the municipality. I then followed up with *mini tour questions* about the provision of services and how 'it ended there', without any further improvements. *Example questions* bordered on specific events in Enkanini residents' struggle, such as occupying the area in 2007 and the condensed dramas between November 2011 and March 2012 in the form of violent protests. From the data gathered, I then used *structural* and *contrast questions* aimed at confirming the information already gathered and confirming the initial categories generated during the fieldwork.

### 1.9.5 Fieldnotes

These are the "reconsultable records of field experience – an anchor for the frames of memory" that "mediate fieldwork and ethnographic writing" (Lederman, 1990:73). Fieldnotes embody the "inscription of the participatory experience" that retains the "indigenous meanings and concerns of the people studied" (Emerson *et al.*, 2011:23). Due to my immersion and participation in the field and due to my not being able to 'write' during the events being observed, I wrote my fieldnotes at the end of the day. In spite of the constraints, fieldnotes were captured simultaneously with fieldwork, in the form of headnotes, jottings or scratch notes. These facilitated the recreation of observations and the field experience. Sanjek (1990) describes headnotes as evolving remembrances of and reflections on field observations, events and interactions. As these fade with time, I relied on jotting down key words, brief remarks and comments while observing and conversing with research participants. The fieldnotes that were written later during my reflective evenings of the same day were positioned in their 'natural' settings accompanied by notes on concomitant emotions, gestures and behaviours that recreated the field atmosphere. I wrote up 'fieldnotes proper' (*ibid*), consisting of elaborated accounts written in a particular chronological and thematical order as second versions of my fieldnotes. The first version of my fieldnotes was handwritten in my A4 notebook at night. Typing up these on my laptop later, they became a combination of handwritten descriptions plus elaborations from the recall of residual yet significant notes that had not been jotted down.

Research participants expressed their unwillingness to be sound recorded, and as a result no sound recording was made. They felt that their planned protests were illegal in the sense that they had not been authorised by the police. Community leaders had a way of distancing themselves from actual protest events with a view to portraying protests as spontaneous eruptions of residents' frustrations. At the same time, law enforcement agents often sought to determine the leaders during protests. Therefore, in sharing their views on these events, most research participants wanted to remain anonymous. A misleading statement by one Kayamandi politician made it impossible for me to make audio recordings of my interviews and conversations with residents. In his attempts to dissuade residents from interacting directly with the municipality, he warned them that during the meetings, the municipality security services recorded all the conversations, which they would then use to follow up on certain vocal residents and link them with subsequent illegal protests and associated violence. I understood the unwillingness of the participants to be identified as emanating from the "clandestine dimension of politics" (Auyero *et al.*, 2009:2) at Enkanini, which will be described in the ethnographic chapters of this study. Nonetheless, invitations and my presence at several meetings and other events mitigated potential blind spots that could undermine the constructed narratives of Enkanini. In the end, (re)writing and (re)reading fieldnotes became "critical acts of sense making and interpretation" with inevitable and considerable "bearing on the research findings" (Eriksson, Henttonen and Meriläinen, 2012:9). Given the contradictory roles of ethnographers identified by Lederman (1990), in the form of inherent commitment to the research participants at one moment and later disengagement from them when writing the ethnographic texts, I was conscious of the need to produce a "respectful representation" (Kouritzin, 2002:119) of Enkanini. According to Kouritzin, this is made possible partly through respectful "word and text choices" and "narrative structure" (ibid: 119).

#### **1.9.6 Documentary evidence**

Atkinson and Coffey (1997) consider documents to be 'social facts' in the sense that they are produced to represent particular objects. Document analysis is a "systematic



procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet transmitted) material” (Bowen, 2009:27). I used documentary evidence to triangulate and crystalise my data collection methods. In this research, documents were instrumental in some ways identified by Bowen (2009). They provided “data on the context within which researchers participate” (ibid: 29), contained information that “can suggest questions that need to be asked and situations that need to be observed” (ibid: 30). They also guided me in tracking certain research objects over time and supplemented and corroborated evidence gathered from different sources. Using this method, I was granted access to two boxes of documents from court case 817/07, *Landdroshof vir die Distrik van Stellenbosch* (Magistrate’s Court for the District of Stellenbosch). The boxes crammed with documents contained all material pertaining to the court battle from February to November 2007 between the municipality and Enkanini shack dwellers. I also consulted the *Eikestad Nuus* and *Cape Times* newspaper articles related to the political instabilities in the municipality and protests at Enkanini. I also made use of the government policy documents on informal settlement upgrading. These included the Department of Housing’s Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme and the Department of Energy’s Policy Guidelines for the Electrification of Unproclaimed Areas. In addition, I also used SDI/CORC documents such as brochures and enumeration reports. Participation in the SI’s reflection workshops enabled me to gain access to the SI’s reports on its pilot projects in collaboration with the Enkanini community. Minutes of and supporting documents for the municipality’s council meetings were also a rich source of information. In using different documents as sources, I followed up on an observation by Jupp and Morris (1990:38) that documents are “‘social constructions’ by particular individuals at particular times” that are subject to “varying interpretations by different ‘audiences’, with varying effects”. Therefore, the documents were used with full awareness of their intentions and intended audience.

### **1.9.7 Dimensions of data analysis**

According to Bryman (2001), the two ‘best known’ frameworks for analysing ethnographic data are inductive analysis and grounded theory, which are also linked to data collection. Since the purpose of my study was not to produce theory but to understand the quality of



life of shack dwellers, inductive analysis was utilised in conjunction with thick descriptions that “evoke[d] emotionality and self-feelings” (Denzin, 1989:83) of shack dwellers. The same thick descriptions inserted history into the present mobilisations by deriving significance from the claims made by shack dwellers and their tactics of trying to be heard. Inductive analysis “provides deep and rich theoretical descriptions of the contexts” (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2012:16) within which the studied phenomena occur. This study demonstrated the need for revised understandings of shack dwellers’ mobilisations. The inductive method of analysis was used in writing the ethnography of Enkanini. (Re) writing and (re)reading the fieldnotes facilitated ‘finding focus’ (Dey, 1993) on data to be analysed. The various readings and reflections on the fieldnotes also facilitated the digestion of the data gathered, and this guided the formulation of initial social and theoretical categories. Social categories included settings or contexts, definitions of or perceptions on improving lives, processes of articulating claims and engaging with the municipality, activities that portrayed patterns of engagement (meetings and protests), events or incidents, and capturing how Enkanini obtained existing services and its pursuit of expanding these. Theoretical issues include “conditions, interactions, strategies or tactics and consequences” (Dey, 1993:87). These were formulated, guided by the emerging themes, around the understanding of shack dwellers’ mobilisations and interpretation of the content of their desires and claims in defining slum upgrading vis-à-vis the discourses of the municipality, the SI and SDI. The transition from first-order analysis to second-level analysis helped to bring out the balanced voices of the research subjects and the researcher as well as the rigour with which this qualitative research was carried out (cf. Gioia *et al.*, 2012; Pratt, 2008).

Ethnographic analysis of Enkanini categorised data in accordance with “...culture’s economy, demographics, human life, particularly family, education, health care issues and the environment” (Kawulich, 2004:97) to bring out the living conditions that residents wanted the state to improve. During the primary data analysis process, the open coding led to the emerging core categories around urban services (particularly electricity), strategies of catching the attention of the state, the persistent presence and role of politicians, and discourses emerging from the various platforms such as meetings and

protests. This process of data analysis was juxtaposed with the secondary-level analysis in the form of theoretical and conceptual coding that was done to contextually derive meanings from the observed events, incidents, practices and latent patterns. The various readings of and reflections on the fieldnotes also facilitated the digestion of the data gathered, and this guided conceptual coding and the formulation of relationships among core categories and ideation of urban citizenship. This ideation was an outcome of creative interpretation of the integrative patterns of discourses around the demands for electricity, visibility and better water and sanitation services.

### **1.10 Overview of the chapters**

Chapter 2 provides a description of the history of Enkanini and the dual role of patronage to argue that the shack dweller movement is laden with a combination of and interaction between patronage and (de)mobilisation. This process is described genealogically and is explained temporally, starting with descriptions of the clandestine relationships created around the formative stages of Enkanini and the manner of initial provision of water and toilets. Identifying the emergent moments of network breakdown that are explained in the literature on clientelism in shack settlements, the chapter explains the ‘open moments’ that ensued when those who had been patrons fell out of power. Following a description of autonomous mobilisations by shack dwellers to exploit those open moments, the chapter raises questions to be further addressed by subsequent chapters. For instance, what are the implications of the ensuing interactions between patronage, municipal attitude and solar energy interventions? Another question relates to the form of political orientation of shack dwellers who defied their erstwhile patrons in their process of initiating their own mobilisation.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical underpinnings of the study as well as debates on the exclusion of shack dwellers and the strides that they have made towards integration into urban society. The concepts of the ‘camp’ and ‘state of exception’ are employed to illustrate the lack of governance of shack settlements by the state, which is discussed from the formative stages of informal settlements and shack dwellings to the state’s response to shack dwellers’ claim making. The chapter also illustrates the scholarly work

on how shack dwellers have articulated their counterresponses to the disposition of the neoliberal state. The chapter identifies the gaps in existing literature on improving the lives of slum dwellers as well as areas that demand elaboration. For instance, the preoccupation with shack dwellers' struggle to resist demolition and eviction is problematised in that it leaves unattended and undeveloped several 'tolerated' informal settlements that are not threatened by eviction or demolition. A genealogical approach is used to identify emergent moments and acts that shape the mobilisation of shack dwellers in terms of enactment of urban citizenship. The idea of acts of citizenship developed by Isin (2008a) is illustrated as a potential conceptual device to mirror the constructions and enactment of urban citizenship. The role of patronage is also elaborated to bring out its dual role in mobilisation and demobilisation of shack dwellers.

Chapter 4 explains the formation of camps around the (un)governance of shack settlements. This is done, firstly, by identifying and interpreting the evolution and dimensions of neglect by the state of Enkanini settlement. Secondly, the chapter identifies and gives an explanation of what slum upgrading means for shack dwellers and the state. The meanings of slum upgrading are derived from the structures of the articulated and implied discourses that dominated the engagements between shack dwellers and the municipality.

Chapter 5 presents an interpretation and explanation of the resistance and transgressive acts during the formation of Enkanini settlement, as well as residents' persistent demands for connection to the electricity grid. The acts, claims and claim-making practices of Enkanini residents are interpreted as enactments of citizenship. The particular acts of citizenship include, firstly, the shack dwellers' appropriation of the self-enumeration process and their utilisation of it to counter the state's rationale for non- and underprovision of services in their settlements. Secondly, shack dwellers sought to construct autonomous demands for state resources. The autonomous demands are explained within the contexts of the polarised electoral politics of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the African National Congress (ANC) whereby Enkanini residents' demands are read by the DA-led municipal leadership as a mere façade for ANC patronage and politicisation of service delivery.

Chapter 6 illustrates how the demands for grid connection were symbolic not only of acts of citizenship but also of an extension of the cumulative gains of *de facto* land tenure and existing services. To avoid any romanticisation of the effects of shack dwellers' mobilisation, the chapter brings out the vulnerable space within which Enkanini residents articulated their demands. This vulnerable space presented prospects of eroding and reversing the citizenship gains garnered by Enkanini residents. The vulnerable space included the interfering and distortionary role of the Kayamandi politicians who sought to assert their influence by disrupting the claim-making practices of Enkanini residents and claiming to be the politically rightful mediators of Enkanini's demands to the municipality. The solar energy project and SDI had competing discourses that derailed the realisation of Enkanini's demands. While SDI's processes of community-driven upgrading held out the prospect of accessing grid electricity, the SI's solar energy project presented a competing discourse that stood to disrupt the unfolding SDI processes. In these competing discourses, the chapter identifies the municipality as aligning with and co-opting one of the discourses to construct its own political responsiveness to the demands of Enkanini residents.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter that summarises the findings of the study. The summary provides lessons on how the mobilisation of shack dwellers should be understood as a struggle to inhabit the city with dignity. The struggle for electricity connection and expanded provision of water and sanitation services is understood as embodying constructions of urban citizenship. In all the shack dwellers' encounters with the state, the agential questions are explained in terms of the extent to which their struggles have transformed their toehold in the city. This is explained in terms of extending citizenship rights gained as well as acknowledging moments where these same gains were undermined by competing discourses. The politics of energy provision will be a key factor around which an understanding of the competing discourses will be explained as some of the entanglements that unsettle attempts at insurgent citizenship.



## **CHAPTER 2: (DE)MOBILISING HISTORICAL LEGACIES**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter gives a detailed description of historical events of Enkanini since its formation until the time of the fieldwork to highlight the ambivalences around what upgrading of Enkanini entailed. The description narrates the historical events at Enkanini by identifying the main protagonists; the relationships that were built and then became strained, between Enkanini residents, Kayamandi and Stellenbosch municipal political leaders and SI. In these relations, Enkanini residents brought to the fore their demands and desires that were articulated around water, sanitation services and electricity. The chapter illustrates how these demands and desires were collectively voiced within the contexts of the local state that raised the impossibility of upgrading Enkanini, the interventions by SDI and CORC on self-enumeration, the alternative/competing intervention by the SI on solar energy, and the response of the KDF on the autonomous claim-making processes initiated by Enkanini residents. The chapter ends by highlighting, with reference to empirically observed activities and the research questions of the thesis, the core argument of this study and the main themes that demand a scholarly scrutiny and understanding.

### **2.2 Formation of Enkanini**

A historical moment immediately prior to the formation of Enkanini that is central to this chapter was the battle between the municipality and some Kayamandi residents who had tried, in August 2006, to occupy part of the municipal land adjacent to Snake Valley. This first invasion by 80 households, occupied land reserved, in terms of a PSBO grid, for a secondary school. These households were quickly removed and allocated land along Snake Valley, adjacent to the southern boundary of Kayamandi. This occurred without anyone going through any legal process. By its rapid response, the local state displayed its capacity to squash insurgency and respond to the demand for space. The relocated households were then provided with one communal water tap located on the church site outside the Kayamandi boundary, which is currently near Kayamandi Secondary School

(see Figure 3). No toilets were provided and residents had to make use of the facilities of their relatives in Kayamandi or of the bush. In early 2007, however, a first set of legal battles occurred in the aftermath of a further invasion by another group of Kayamandi residents, an invasion whose magnitude and intensity had a defining effect on the formation of a stand-alone shack settlement – Enkanini. This wave of invasion was much bigger (225 households) than the initial cohort of 80 households. The direct historical events related to the formation of a stand-alone informal settlement (Enkanini) thus began in early 2007 when a second group of Kayamandi invaders targeted the municipal farm land adjacent to Snake Valley (see Figure 3), which planners considered undevelopable for low income groups due to its steep gradient<sup>6</sup> and which was also considered to be environmentally sensitive. A unique feature of Enkanini is that, while other shacks had and have proliferated around the hostels and open land parcels within the boundaries of Kayamandi township, Enkanini emerged ‘illegally’ on zoned non-residential land owned by the municipality. The land was zoned for agriculture and there were on-going processes to change it into a nature reserve by the Department of Environmental Affairs (Provincial Office). As a response to the invasion, the municipality initially engaged the services of the notorious private security firm known as the ‘Red Ants’ from Johannesburg to demolish the new shacks in Enkanini between February and June 2007. Residents who had experienced this process related to me that they had come home from work and found the shacks that they had put up the night before demolished and the shack-building materials confiscated. However, they said shacks with furniture in them such as tables and beds were spared. According to residents who had experienced the demolitions, sparing the furnished shacks was a tactical move by the Law Enforcement Unit to avoid any legal challenges by invaders who might sue the municipality for their damaged household goods. A consequence was that those with empty shacks simply rebuilt and put their furniture and possessions in them immediately.

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<sup>6</sup> Such a site requires special engineering equipment and stabilisation of slopes. Though this is possible, the transference of the associated huge costs to eventual consumers would make it extremely expensive.

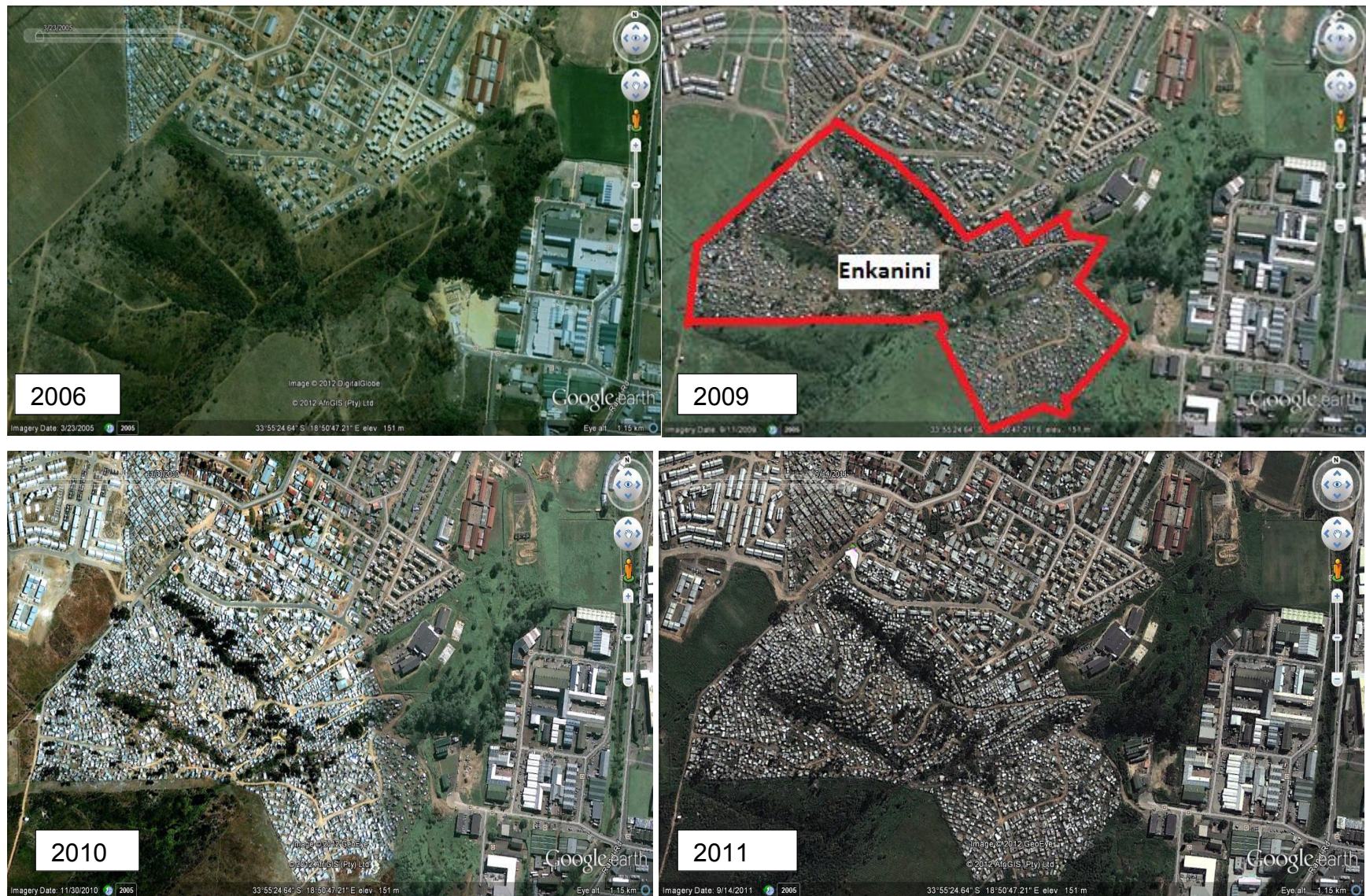




Figure 3. Initial invasion and resettlement areas, 2005, adapted from Google Maps.

The resultant increase in shacks led the municipality to resort to litigation in February 2007, seeking the eviction of the ‘invaders’. But since the court took more than six months to make a ruling, the invasion continued and proved to be a major challenge for the municipality, even to enforce the ultimate ruling. The challenge arose from the fact that the court order that the municipality sought from the Stellenbosch Magistrate’s Court in February 2007 cited 225 shack owners but the number had increased every day.





**Figure 4. Spatial growth of Enkanini (2006–2011), adapted Google Earth 2014.**



Consequently, when the municipality won the case in August 2007, its legal team could only serve the court order on the original 225 shack owners, while the number of shacks erected by then had grown to almost a thousand. Figure 4 shows how an area that was vacant in 2006 had become very densely settled by the end of 2011 when my fieldwork was done and when an estimated 2 500 shacks occupied it. To be able to enforce the court order, the municipality had had to identify an alternative site for the 225 shack residents' resettlement in Klapmuts, more than 18 km from Kayamandi. This move was resisted as it would have meant a disruption of people's established social capital and caused extra travel costs for the majority of shack owners who had casual employment in Stellenbosch. Social capital would have been destroyed as most residents of Enkanini already had a network of relatives and friends in Kayamandi where, *inter alia*, they charged their cell phones, ironed clothes, obtained information on job opportunities and shared updates on developments back in the Eastern Cape whence many residents in both areas originated. The municipality therefore failed to implement the court order, primarily due to the complexity and scale of the invasion – a complexity that is elaborated later in this chapter. But what this shows is that, from the start, *inkani* (force) prevailed in Enkanini.

### **2.3 The contexts of the occupation and resistance**

The foregoing description of the resistance and refusal by shack dwellers to be relocated from 'their' occupied area needs to be contextualised. Firstly, the context is defined by the latent discontent in Kayamandi where provision of social services grossly lagged behind what had turned out to be a post-1994 demographic explosion in the township. As a result, a decongestion process filled the existing public open spaces while homeowners built shacks in the private spaces of their backyards for rental income generation. This created a category of urban poor who experienced both the brunt of state abandonment and unaffordable rentals charged by backyard-shack owners. The formation of Enkanini was thus based on a need to flee from rental costs and to find privacy.

A further dimension of the invasion and the resistance against relocation was the acknowledgement that the mobilisation for occupation, resistance and eventual nonrelocation of shack dwellers from the occupied land was also waged *elsewhere* on

their behalf, by *someone* other than a local resident. In an interview with Mr Strydom,<sup>7</sup> a former DA councillor on the Stellenbosch Municipal Council whose tenure included the period during which the land invasion covered by this study occurred, he said that a prominent politician; Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini; then a councillor from Kayamandi, had ‘played a double game’. The former DA councillor recounted that, when the Stellenbosch Municipal Council debated the option of relocating shack dwellers to Klapmuts, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini had advised the council to exercise caution, warning that the municipality risked the ‘highly likely possibility’ of violence and protests by shack dwellers if the decision to relocate them was implemented. He then offered to mediate on behalf of the municipality in a bid to calm the shack dwellers. Mr Strydom said that the municipality later learnt that Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini had told shack dwellers to ‘stay put’ and promised that he would defend them at the municipal administration to make sure that the court decision was not enforced.

While at this stage this might appear to be an allegation only, given the polarization between the DA and ANC, the chapter later describes Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini himself attesting to this. Moreover, Lusanda, one of the ‘pioneers’ in the formation of Enkanini, corroborated this significant role played by Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini in the initial ‘victory’ against resettlement and the eventual provision of Enkanini’s existing basic services at the time of fieldwork in 2012: 32 communal water taps and 80 communal toilets shared by 4 449 residents in 2 494 household dwelling units (Enkanini Community, Stellenbosch Municipality, CORC and ISN, 2012).

Understanding this invasion also requires an appreciation of the contextual politics and instabilities that have beset Stellenbosch Municipality. Following the 1998 Local Government White Paper, South Africa had fully democratic local government elections in December 2000. From that time onwards, however, Stellenbosch had managed to establish a stable municipal council only after 2011 (see Table 1). None of the previous councils had managed to hold onto executive control for even their full five-year term, and it was an uphill battle for each executive to rule for more than two years of its term. This stemmed from the fact that the executive was made up of coalitions and from the frequent floor-crossings by councillors which brought instability.

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<sup>7</sup> All names have been changed and thus are not the real names of the research informants.

The period that is of interest for this chapter is when the Enkanini invasions started. The records of the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court contain the municipality's affidavit as the applicant to evict 'invaders', indicating that 225 'residents of Kayamandi' had erected shacks by March 22, 2007. The magistrate's judgment of August 17, 2007, issuing an order for the occupants to be evicted, states that the invasion was in February 2007, which can be taken as the relevant time of the genesis of Enkanini since the earlier (2006) group of 80 households was absorbed into Kayamandi and did not form a distinct settlement.

Legally, when the magistrate ordered the enforcement of the eviction order before December 4, 2007, the enforcement mechanism required a full council meeting. Yet a full council meeting was not held to consider the issue either before or after the court deadline. Consequently, any enforcement of the court order, that is without a full council decision would have been unprocedural. Chapter 6 will reveal that the council meeting that finally and formally reflected on and considered this court order was in July 2013. Furthermore, no action was taken by the court to ensure compliance with the eviction order that it had issued. The municipality's failure to act reveals a strategic political move that defined the existence of Enkanini as an 'outcome of the default of the legal processes'.<sup>8</sup> This lack of action stemmed from a fear of instability if Enkanini residents were to resist attempts of eviction and relocation to Klapmuts.

**Table 1: Infrequency of full-term council tenure at Stellenbosch Municipality (2000–2011)**

<b>Local government elections</b>	<b>Full term</b>	<b>Discontinuities in council terms</b>
December 5, 2000	2000–2006	December 2000 – October 2002: DA-led council
		October 2002 – March 2006: ANC/NNP coalition
March 1, 2006	2006–2011	March 2006 – February 2008: DA-led coalition

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Mr Strydom (August 11, 2012).

		April 2008 – December 2009: ANC-led coalition
		December 2009 – May 2011: DA-led coalition
May 18, 2011	2011–2016	DA-led council

The periods that I have highlighted in the dates shown in Table 1 are those that overlap with the invasions, the finalisation of the court case in November 2007, the end of the DA-led coalition in February 2008 and the coming to power of the ANC-led coalition in April 2008. The coming into office of the ANC-led coalition brought along an interesting element in the executive in the person of Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini, who, as explained earlier, had assured the ‘invaders’ of protection. Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini held the position of deputy mayor, while the mayor was a councillor from the Kayamandi Community Alliance. According to Mr Strydom, the land invasion was in fact supported by municipal council politicians led by Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini. He also indicated that one of the allegations of ‘mismanagement’ that was levelled against the 2006–2008 DA-led coalition was its failure to deal with land invasions,<sup>9</sup> claiming that this was part of an ANC strategy to destabilise the then incumbent executive. This is not to say that the land invasion and its contribution to ‘mismanagement’ led to the downfall of the DA-led coalition. Councillor Myra Linders left the DA party and after a by-election, she won the seat as an independent councillor and then she and the Kayamandi Community Alliance councillor who became the mayor aligned themselves with the ANC (Independent Online News, 2008).

The seesaw instability in the executive leadership of Stellenbosch also made it likely that the current DA regime (since 2009 to 2016) would view Enkanini in the same way in which it perceived its political rival (ANC), especially considering the role of Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini in the occupation and his facilitation of initial service provision when he was in power. This study argues that the potency of shack dwellers and their terrain comes out more clearly if the narrative of their struggle acknowledges the first concentric zone of the struggle – the patron-client relationships in which they were entangled – and how the struggle passed through them. Again, these relationships

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<sup>9</sup> Other accusations were related to procurement practices that were considered to be corrupt (<http://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/content/zuma-gives-updates-siu-probes-progress> [2012, July 20]).

become haunting in seesaw political instabilities such as those of Stellenbosch. In such contexts, which are dominant in Western Cape municipalities run by DA-led executives, it is likely that those in power will conflate the leaders of shack settlements formed through clandestine patron-broker-client relations with the patrons of the shack-settlement inhabitants. This conflation happened, as shall be shown in this study (particularly section 6.3), even when Stellenbosch's municipality could clearly see Enkanini residents' attempts to shrug off the former patrons. Instead, the municipality preferred to ignore the fact of those residents' autonomous identity formation (see Chapter 6) and thus left the ANC politicians to sort out their rifts with their former clients.

When, as occurred with Enkanini, shack settlement residents are conflated and read as fronts of the ANC, and if this view is static, it is possible that they are marginalised by a DA-led local government. This leads, as will be shown in later chapters, to prejudice and indifference to the glaring needs of the poor. As will be shown, by studying the processes and acts through which shack dwellers attempted to enact themselves as citizens, it becomes possible to trace and explain how assertive claim-making evolved and how it signalled a shift from 'clients to citizens' (Mathie and Cunningham, 2002).

Politically, the internal organization of Enkanini revealed two factions of leadership with each claiming legitimacy. Lusanda, who represented the community during the formation of Enkanini, continued to retain leadership roles during my fieldwork period though he was perceived as ineffective, mainly due to his close relationship with the Kayamandi-based politicians who were also considered as being ineffective in procuring resources for the community. The other faction claiming leadership hailed from Phezulu who claimed Lusanda had overstayed in the leadership role as he had remained in that role since the establishment of Enkanini. Phezulu is the northern part of Enkanini and is inhabited mostly by residents who came to Enkanini after 2009. The southern part, referred to generally by residents as Ezansi is occupied by the oldest cohort of residents<sup>10</sup>. Residents from Phezulu felt marginalized and considered that their section of Enkanini bore the heaviest brunt of electricity challenges. This

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<sup>10</sup> For example, a disaggregated analysis of the enumeration data shows that only 22% of Ezansi household heads began their residence in Enkanini from 2009 onwards, compared to more than 50% in Phezulu.

stemmed from the fact that most shacks in Ezansi had illegal and informal connections that were linked to their established social networks with residents in Snake Valley. Those from Phezulu had had their informal electricity connections to residents in Zone O removed, as will be explained in Chapter 4. However, those on the western side of Ezansi were far away from Snake Valley to the extent that their challenges of accessing electricity were similar to those of Phezulu residents. The SANCO (South Africa National Civic Organisation) leadership based in Kayamandi, then intervened by establishing street committees, for the entire Enkanini that included residents from Phezulu. Mathanzima and Andile, both males, were chosen by residents from Phezulu. Mathanzima was then 36 years old, six years older than Andile. Both were unemployed and relied on casual jobs. This casual type of employment afforded them time to mobilise residents and to have regular contacts with SANCO and ANC politicians in Kayamandi. Unlike Lusanda, however, those two leaders from Phezulu had weak clientelistic bonds with SANCO and ANC politicians. Thus, they were more able to be critical of the Ward Councilor and later defied the Kayamandi-based politicians and led a rebellion against them.

In the mobilizations that will be described in this chapter and discussed throughout the study, Mathanzima and Andile were in the forefront of mobilizing residents to attend community meetings. Using a loudspeaker provided by politicians in Kayamandi, the two often traversed Enkanini calling residents at 6pm to assemble at the usual meeting points – koTat' uMatshiya or koTat' Matshaya which are both specific points on the roads within the settlement. The catchy subject of the agenda that was often announced during the call for the meetings was electricity. The subject of electricity had an attractive and unifying element across the community. It attracted the interest of women who bore the brunt of cooking with firewood; tavern owners who wished to stock and sell cold drinks and other perishable items; and every resident who groped around in the dark nights while seeing the luminous and 'better' lights in Kayamandi and the greater Stellenbosch. The issue of electricity had semiotic significance around which collective desires were performatively articulated during struggles to get formal access to the grid. This was evidenced by the presence of all – males and females, including those who were employed and who often came directly to the meeting wearing their worksuits before retiring to their shacks. General meetings were organized during the week. Those organized during Sundays attracted even greater

crowds, as those who had missed the meetings convened during the week came to get their own version of the struggle and to know what the municipality was reportedly promising. During these meetings, mostly at koTat' uMatshaya, the road would be packed and residents would occupy the open area separating Enkanini and Zone O. The road was thus transformed from a mere public space for transit to a space for community meetings and mobilisation.

During these meetings Mathanzima and Andile would always give welcoming remarks, agenda and updates. In cases when Lusanda addressed the meetings, there would be sporadic interjections and hissings by residents labelling him a 'servant of Sigquma-Nkungwini' and adding 'you're no longer a leader'. Lusanda would not be swayed by the interjections and often imposed his authority in his address which was punctuated with references to the original struggle to settle in Enkanini. In this historical struggle, Mathanzima and Andile had not been present, and therefore Lusanda sought to diminish their legitimacy while asserting his own. In terms of community structure, organization and leadership in Enkanini, the picture was nebulous and diffuse. This extended itself in the backstage processes of the mobilisation. There was a competition for recognition and attracting allegiance of residents between Mathanzima and Lusanda. For instance, Lusanda often referred (during conversations with me) to Mathanzima as 'my deputy' while the later rebuffed such a reference to an unequal status and often bragged before the residents (during the meeting) that he had the cellphone number of the Speaker and the Mayor whom he could contact any time to arrange appointments for meetings on Enkanini problems. Another case was during the trip to George, where Mathanzima managed to elbow Lusanda out of the list of residents who travelled. When residents murmured about the lack of feedback about the trip to George and accused those who went that they had been bribed by the municipality, Lusanda exploited that situation by telling residents to ask Mathanzima for an explanation. Mathanzima was furious about such tactics and labelled Lusanda as a 'lame leader' who cannot address the concerns of residents directly. He said this while also withholding any update (to Lusanda as his 'deputy') about the trip to George in order to build his relative advantage over him. Lusanda would then exploit the frustration of the residents and enjoyed it to see Mathanzima being blocked by Kayamandi-based ANC politicians from giving the feedback of the trip to the entire community. Mathanzima and Andile later accused Lusanda, during one of the general



meetings, of clandestinely conniving with the Kayamandi-based ANC politicians to endorse the solar option without the consent of the residents (see Section 2.7). In the midst of these ping-pongs between competing leaders, residents were generally ambiguous in their allegiance to the two developing leadership factions, although there was a tendency to support these local political entrepreneurs along territorial divides. Mathanzima mostly had the vocal support of residents residing on the northern section of Enkanini while Lusanda had the passive and more clandestine support of residents in the southern section of Enkanini and of Kayamandi-based ANC politicians.

The mobilisation was built upon meeting arenas of a kind which Haug (2013) identifies as formidable infrastructures and spaces of mobilisation where actors identify themselves, their shared interests which are verified and validated to build associational ties and solidarity. The study uses ethnographic material based on several general meetings of the community of residents where the collective voice and collective identity formation were articulated. In those meetings that were used as objects of analysis of this study, residents of Enkanini became a collective actor around the subject of electricity and the general exclusion of the settlement. In as much as Mathanzima and Andile – as well as the SANCO leaders and ANC-linked Kayamandi-based politicians – provided the mobilising leadership and incitements for residents to confront the municipality, Haug's (2013:3) insight applies where he argues that incitements to protests and other performative acts become secondary when the focus shifts to the "...importance of face-to-face meetings and assemblies" in the lives of actors. In such settings, Haug argues, power flows not from individual leaders but from the particular contexts and groups within the meetings.

As will be explained later, it was in those kinds of meetings, through deliberations and interactions that the formation of a collective identity, consensual decision-making and tensions emerged. It needs to be stated also that the nebulous leadership on the ground level to a large extent created a fragility within the mobilisation at that level, particularly in handling the tactics of Kayamandi-based politicians and Stellenbosch's municipal leaders as well as in forging constructive collaborations with researchers and civil society.

## **2.4 Limited influence of ‘out-of-power’ patrons, self-enumeration and opportunities for autonomous mobilisation**

Moving from 2008 to the beginning of 2012 brings us to the scene of sporadic protests by Enkanini residents against the way in which the municipality had neglected their community. These sporadic protests began at the end of 2011 and continued into 2012. At that time the executive of the municipal administration was fully controlled by the DA. In response to the protests, the municipality often put forward an argument that it was unable to address the concerns of Enkanini as it was not aware of the size and demographics of the settlement. This can be interpreted to mean that Enkanini was illegible to the local state. Another response by the municipality to the protests by Enkanini residents was roping in SDI and CORC to facilitate an enumeration process. This call for the involvement of the SDI stemmed from the ‘tremendous’<sup>11</sup> role that the organisation and its local NGO and community-based organisation (CBO) partners had played in another informal settlement in Stellenbosch – Langrug – and elsewhere in and outside the country in mobilising communities towards the process of ‘enumerating themselves’.<sup>12</sup> The enumeration in Langrug took place between November 2010 and June 2011. The process in Langrug also facilitated the building of trust between the municipality and the shack dwellers. Prior to this, ‘the community in Langrug had expressed their anger at being forgotten by the municipality by demolishing interventions brought in by the municipality in 2010 as part of the FIFA World Cup urban renewal projects’ (Siame, 2013).<sup>13</sup> The municipality, therefore, seemingly sought to reproduce in Enkanini the relations that it had developed with the Langrug residents. The relations reflected the community and the municipality as partners involved in the upgrading of the settlement. The partnership meant that the two stakeholders, through the mediation of NGOs and CBOs, were to co-operate instead of opposing each other.

The launching of the enumeration at Enkanini was, however, delayed by seven months due to conflicts between the councillor of Ward 12 (within which Enkanini fell) and SANCO leaders in Kayamandi. SANCO in Kayamandi had become a platform and launch pad for disgruntled ANC candidates who had lost nominations to represent the

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Deputy Director (Informal Settlement Unit), Stellenbosch Municipality. Siame’s (2013) thesis using Langrug as its case study also elaborates this account.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

party during the 2011 local government elections. They used all available opportunities to discredit the incumbent councillor so as to buy the support of Enkanini residents. A case in point is when on May 20, 2012 SANCO leaders disrupted a meeting arranged by the municipality to discuss the preparations for enumeration. The meeting was between the municipality, Enkanini residents and the councillor at the Stellenbosch Municipality's Corridor Offices. The SANCO leaders were protesting and asking why the municipality had not invited them to the then and previous preparations for the enumeration process. They then demanded a seat in the front where the DA councillor and Deputy Director (integrated Settlements, Stellenbosch municipality), Mr Strydom, were seated. The preparations were already at an advanced stage, led by the councillor together with her Ward Committee members and the Informal Settlements Unit of the municipality. However, SANCO was successful in mobilising the residents who accused the councillor of only selecting shack dwellers from the eZansi section of Enkanini to participate as enumerators.

The enumeration exercise had financial benefits for those to be recruited as enumerators since they would be paid R80 (US\$9.5) per day. The Informal Settlements Unit preferred to work with the councillor and the Ward Committee, an arrangement that irked SANCO. It was later revealed that residents from Phezulu – the northern part of Enkanini – had informed the SANCO leaders about the meeting of 20 May. The Ward 12 councillor argued during the same meeting that the SANCO representatives were not residents of Enkanini. The councillor stated that one of SANCO's representatives, who was also a Ward Committee member, would provide them with the feedback that they needed. This marked another unfolding role of patrons. SANCO was then seen positively by the community in general, especially by residents residing in the northern part of Enkanini. The relationship was premised on the role of SANCO in facilitating the establishment of street committees in 2011. Residents from Phezulu had viewed that as an inclusive process since Lusanda had been the only leader since the formation of the settlement. He had, however, been criticised for enjoying favours of the Kayamandi politicians at the expense of community interests. In the establishment of the Enkanini leadership, facilitated by SANCO, Mathanzima and Lusanda became co-leaders of the community, representing the northern and southern sections of the community respectively. Mathanzima hailed from Phezulu (upper section of Enkanini) while Lusanda from

Ezansi (lower section). Mathanzima was at that time, often accompanied by Andile, a young man in his early twenties.

The establishment of street committees<sup>14</sup> by SANCO was meant to function as a “residential civil society” (Staniland, 2008:36) – in the absence of civics and conventional social movements – to provide leadership for the concerns of residents. The conflict between SANCO and the councillor revealed part of the contentious and disruptive politics embedded in Enkanini. The councillor claimed that the Ward Committee was the legitimate structure for municipal interventions in her constituency while SANCO claimed that the grassroots were not well represented in the local Ward Committee. SANCO brought complexity and constraint to the planned process of enumeration because it wanted to be involved and be seen in every symbolic act of care and improvement of Enkanini, and in a personalised way that would project its indispensability. Personalising interventions is a mechanism used by patrons to symbolise and emphasise their efforts to care for their clients (Auyero *et al.*, 2009).

What emerged from Enkanini was a politicised preparatory process of enumeration. Leaders from Phezulu, assisted by SANCO, succeeded in having 20 enumerators from their section on top of the initial 20 that the councillor had selected. Nonetheless, the push for community-wide representation among enumerators facilitated the communication on what enumeration was all about. The community-wide representation, however, masked deep-seated divisions between Lusanda and Mathanzima who worked with the dominant group of Kayamandi politicians and SANCO respectively. The bigger role of SANCO was the blocking of the ISN from Enkanini, thus constraining the unfolding of SDI’s emancipatory rituals that are built around community savings, enumeration, community meetings to build accountability and formulating strategies for effective engagement with the municipality (Arputham, 2012; Patel *et al.*, 2012).

These kinds of processes have been interpreted as rituals that the urban poor in informal settlements have appropriated, celebrated and horizontally shared with each other within and across national borders (Robins, 2003; 2008). These practices have

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<sup>14</sup> Consists of sectoral (youth, women and SANCO) and geographical (residents from different neighbourhoods in the ward) representatives nominated by the subgroups that they represent and elected by the residents in the ward.

also been ritualised globally by slum dweller federations as a way of building inventories of their communities and engaging municipalities. The effectiveness of the engagement with the municipality is a measure of facilitating opportunities, resources and services for slum dweller federations' communities.

The fact that, through community savings, enumeration, peer-learning visits amongst informal settlements and engaging the local state, the ISN inculcated horizontal relationships within the community and among fellow shack dwellers from different informal settlements stood to threaten and unsettle the differential power relations initially enjoyed by SANCO. SANCO had enjoyed being gatekeeper and broker. As a result, it became unclear who was facilitating the enumeration in the true sense of SDI<sup>15</sup> philosophy. Though CORC and the municipality were visible in training enumerators and supporting them, the two stakeholders were very distant and too technocratic to sustain adequate empathetic and appreciative dialogue with shack dwellers. For example, there were instances that portrayed hierarchies: the use of English and shack dwellers being given interpretations, training of enumerators by the municipality, the municipality as the paymaster for enumerators and the professional role of CORC. These instances produced power differentials that could have been minimised if the ISN had been involved because the ISN often used community representatives from informal settlements that had completed enumeration. Through these horizontal relationships and 'deep democratization' (Appadurai, 2012), shack dwellers shared lessons on and experiences of the symbolic and material benefits of enumeration and post-enumeration engagement with the state in empowering and respectful ways.

Eventually, the success story of Langrug failed to unfold, as envisaged, at Enkanini, mainly because ISN was unable to establish itself in the community. ISN constituted the community mobilisation arm of the partnership between CORC and SDI. Its failure to engage shack dwellers at Enkanini was an outcome of the political resistance from SANCO, which perceived that ISN's significant and 'successful' work in Cape Town

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<sup>15</sup> Though SDI has a transnational presence and works with its national affiliates such as CORC in South Africa, the distant presence and engagement of these two (SDI and CORC) in Enkanini made it difficult to isolate them due to their shallow involvement in the study area. In the discourses used by the municipality and SI, there was a constant reference to SDI while on the enumeration processes CORC officials were most visible. To that end, the separation of these two was a non-issue as their tangential presence in the events at Enkanini did not permit their distinctions and roles to come out clearly. Hence, in this study their presence will often be referred to as 'SDI and/or CORC'.

could provide inroads for the DA into the study area that was controlled by the ANC. Even though Langrug, which is in Ward 2 of Stellenbosch, was represented by the ANC in the council, SANCO displayed the usual local ANC internal conflicts, which clouded a fair assessment of the role played by ISN in Langrug. SANCO leaders wanted themselves, not the councillor, to be given credit for facilitating community processes and interventions at Enkanini. Prior to SDI's and CORC's entrance to Enkanini, I acquainted myself with their work in collaboration with the ISN elsewhere so as to understand their desired end result in Enkanini. Between April and July 2012, I accompanied CORC and ISN leaders to informal settlements in Cape Town where the ISN mobilised the communities to promote community savings. Since SDI had a partnership with the municipality to facilitate *in situ* slum upgrading, communities were encouraged to engage instead of fight the city administration. Some of the meetings facilitated by CORC and the ISN were between representatives of informal settlements and officials from the Informal Settlement Unit in the city administration.

I observed that after enumeration, shack dwellers participated in community-led public verification and validation of the enumeration results as well as documentation of the stock of all (dys)functional community facilities. Residents then went on to spatially and symmetrically rearrange their shacks so that the municipality could bring in water and grid electricity, among other services. The process of rearranging, known as reblocking or blocking out, was a response to arguments by city officials that interventions related to service provision were difficult due to what they saw as overcrowding and the haphazard placement of shacks. The sense of 'difficulty' arose from a technocratic reading of aerial photographs that showed overcrowded and asymmetrically arranged shacks, leading to a conclusion and prejudice by planners and engineers that service provision was not feasible. What this suggests is that the meaning of the aerial photographs depended on the person who read the photographs. This was because planners and engineers saw the impossibility of *in situ* slum upgrading while shack dwellers saw the possibility of rearranging their shacks and opening up spaces for services. I also interpret the reblocking exercise as an example of 'planning from below' or 'insurgent planning' albeit one that was deliberately shared with professionals or city officials. In those encounters, city officials were taken through all the stages of dismantling current 'disorder' and producing symmetric order that had spaces for roads and reticulation of other services. The

officials thus came to acknowledge the space created by the slum dwellers as useful for improved basic services. It can be said that, at that stage of creative design from the margins or abject spaces, expert planners were going through ‘capacity building’ provided to them by lay or community planners. That this occurred corroborates Huchzermeyer’s (2006) call for critical reskilling and capacity building of those officials working with informal settlements so that their practice does not ‘sweep away the poor’ (Watson, 2009). All of that happened because, to a great extent, the ISN had access to informal settlement communities and horizontally linked them together to share their living experiences.

It was the kind of community mobilisation, facilitation of engagement between shack dwellers and Stellenbosch Municipality, and the resultant interventions that the municipality, CORC and the ISN envisaged in Enkanini. As said before, they had already achieved this in Stellenbosch’s other informal settlement, Langrug. However, the context was different in Enkanini.

Though the context was different, the content of Enkanini residents’ protest was similar to that of protests in Cape Town. Enkanini residents called for improved living conditions. Their mantra was, “*Sifun’ umbane apha*” (“We need [grid] electricity here”). This cry dominated their protests between the end of 2011 and mid-2012, and it was one of the main expectations of the community when the enumeration exercise was undertaken.

Another aspect which made the Enkanini context unique in the enumeration process was the presence of an existing solar energy research project that was overseen by the SI of the University of Stellenbosch. Since SANCO’s presence ruffled the Enkanini terrain for ISN’s entrance, the SI’s solar research project had adopted a community-engagement approach. In this approach, collaboration was pursued with Enkanini residents who claimed to be part of the leadership of the community. Through this ‘collaborative’ approach, four residents (three men and one woman) were co-opted as ‘co-researchers’ and remunerated R80 per day – the same rate paid to community-based enumerators. I participated during several occasions where the co-researchers were part of Honours and MA modules delivered by the SI, and where they facilitated excursions into the settlement. After the SI’s initial experimentation with five improved shacks (I-Shacks), the arrangement between SI and the four co-researcher residents



was that the latter would contribute by mobilising the community for scaling-up the use of solar beyond the few experimental iShacks.

I also participated in some of the meetings where the mobilisation was discussed, and on the basis of which SI claimed to have a first footprint in Enkanini before SDI/CORC and ISN came in with their enumeration process. Building on this claim, SI pushed for an upgrading process of Enkanini with solar energy as the preferred source of electricity. As will be discussed in later chapters, provision of solar energy generated electricity contradicted the residents' demands for grid connections. Moreover, it was not part of the electricity access within SDI/CORC's proposed upgrading processes where energy access was to be linked to the grid.

In spite of delays caused by SANCO, enumeration eventually began on August 13, 2012, and it raised many expectations. In the last pre-enumeration meeting between Enkanini leaders, the KDF and the municipality on July 26, 2012 at the Council Chambers, the speaker of Stellenbosch Municipality requested that the next meeting be held one month later, when the enumeration exercise would have been completed. August 28, 2012 was put forward by the speaker as the date for the next meeting. The first post-enumeration meeting carried many expectations from the perspective of the shack dwellers. This was because Enkanini leaders had often told residents during general meetings between July 26 and August 28, 2012 that *uMasipala* (the municipality) promised to bring electricity after enumeration. The enumeration exercise was therefore interpreted by the shack dwellers as an act to highlight the way in which *abahlali beEnkanini abasokola ngayo*<sup>16</sup> (shack dwellers of Enkanini are suffering); hence, *uMasipala* would respond accordingly. As mentioned earlier, Enkanini residents expected the process of enumeration to be followed by other stages of mapping out the settlement and its facilities, blocking out and the eventual processes of engaging the municipality to explore options for addressing problematic issues emerging from the enumeration results.

Besides the statistics on water and sanitation mentioned earlier, the report of the enumeration process shows that a relative majority of residents (54%) were males and that the community largely consisted of young adults. This is shown in the population profile of Enkanini where 70% fell within the age group of 20-44 years. One significant

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<sup>16</sup> Mathanzima addressing the general meeting on August 12, 2012 at Enkanini.



socio-economic feature of Enkanini was the level of unemployment and/or underemployment. Of the working age population, only 37% were fully employed, mainly as workers in shops and cafes, and as domestic workers. Proportionally, 45% of the men and 26% of the women of working age had full-time employment. Of the 63% of the working age population that was not fully employed, women (46% of the total population) constituted the greater number during the enumeration. The rest relied on casual employment in the construction sector and on commercial farms. This gendered profile of unemployment was evidenced by the greater number of women responding to the mobilization by the males who were present in the settlement during the working hours. The enumeration also reveals an average household monthly income and expenditure of R1031 and R1038 (\$109), respectively. Further analysis of this data shows that \$52<sup>17</sup> was the average expenditure on food per-person-per-month. In terms of poverty thresholds set by Statistics South Africa (2011), which gave a food poverty line<sup>18</sup> of \$70 per-person-per-month, the average Enkanini resident lived below the national standard. The situation was likely to be worse given that these were average figures which masked the situation faced by the unemployed as well as those whose livelihoods were built on casual employment. This brings out another defining feature of Enkanini, where cries for electricity emerged out of constrained income levels. As will be mentioned in section 4.2, those households that had informal electricity connections on average had monthly electricity expenditures of \$25 – which was more than double the energy poverty line<sup>19</sup> of 10% of household income. Already it is considered that “43% of South Africans are energy poor as they spend more than 10% of their income on energy needs” (Sustainable Energy Africa, 2014: 8). The struggle for electricity by Enkanini residents, therefore, mirrored a broader aspiration of shack dwellers to escape their exclusion – one that was built around energy access but had many other ramifications.

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<sup>17</sup> Calculated using the South African purchasing power parity exchange rate of 4.774 at the end of 2011 (SSA 2011).

<sup>18</sup> Or the extreme poverty line below which a person is unable to purchase enough food for an adequate diet (SSA 2011).

<sup>19</sup> The threshold household expenditure on energy (Sustainable Energy Africa, 2014).

## 2.5 Pursuing data-driven engagement with the state

August 28, 2012 was a special day for the enumeration as it marked the end of the one-month period that the municipality's Speaker had requested when he had met Enkanini representatives on July 26, 2012. Of note August 28 was the day residents expected to be informed about the plans of the municipality for meeting their demands for grid electricity and improved water and sanitation services. On that fateful day, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the municipality ambushed the representatives of Enkanini with a presentation by the SI. It was an ambush because residents had never considered the provision of solar energy in their community. The presentation by the SI was about the solar power innovations that the SI had come up with from its iShack research project. Already a few iShacks had been erected in Enkanini to experiment with this innovation. The innovation also attracted media attention from all over the world<sup>20</sup>, as a breakthrough in sustainable energy solutions for informal settlements and the urban poor in general. The main purpose of the iShack was to delink the electricity solution for the urban poor from the grid, considering that the state was not providing it either. But what does it mean to be offered solar energy when you clamour and yearn for a grid connection, to the extent of risking your life through *izinyoka* (literally meaning 'snakes' but used by residents to describe cables for illegal electricity connection)? Chapter 4 will argue that this substitution was a mechanism that positioned shack settlements as outsiders in urban society.

The SI presentation ended. The Speaker then remarked saying 'it's an exciting idea' and he put before the meeting the 'conventional [and long] process' of getting grid electricity versus 'the iShack project'. The Speaker said that the municipality backed the iShack project because 'it's possible to bring electricity quickly'. He also said 'SI has been identified to work with KDF, so the ball is now with the Forum'. Listening to this surprise development, I asked myself, where are the residents of Enkanini in all this new arrangement? Seeing the surprise among Enkanini residents regarding this new proposal, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini requested that the Speaker give them a break and *provide refreshments to those present*, which was granted. This gesture was granted in less than a minute, but it was a symbolic act of patronage marked by care,

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<sup>20</sup> In all these media reports, Enkanini was not presented as a place *in* Stellenbosch. See Chapter Four.

tact and a vigilant eye that saw a hungry flock, like the proverbial compassion of the Messiah who fed 5 000 people.

During the break, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini called the Kayamandi politicians, SANCO and representatives from Enkanini to come outside the Council Chambers for a caucus. I also joined the 'caucus meeting' but as an observer. Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini told the other participants that the community should opt for solar energy!

This was clearly another ambush, but from a familiar figure. Furthermore, it did not sound like a recommendation or a suggestion but like a tacit endorsement of solar energy. This strategic move underlined the extent and ambition of Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini's political influence.

The SANCO leaders immediately objected on the grounds that it would be difficult to deliver this option to the community, considering that residents were expecting grid-based electricity. But Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini simply disregarded their concern. Before the planned feedback meeting in the evening, the news of the solar energy option had already filtered back to the community. When the meeting took place later that night in Enkanini, residents shouted, "*Asiyifun' isolar, sifun' umbane!*" ("We don't want solar, we want electricity!"). Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and his fellow ANC politicians relayed the argument of the municipality, especially concerning the intended goal of turning the previously farmland where Enkanini was not situated into a nature reserve. Putting it in isiXhosa, the Kayamandi-based ANC politicians said that, according to the municipality 'this place *lihlathi, indawo zilwane*' (literally: 'it is a bush, a place for lions'.) Besides rubbing into residents the contentious issue of the area being intended as a nature reserve, and without challenging it, it was clear that the Kayamandi-based politicians did not team with the residents on the solar option.

This general meeting marked the beginning of resentment on the part of residents at the distortionary and 'interfering' role of politicians in the Enkanini residents' fight for electricity. It can be said that this was one of the visible manifestations of the 'breakdown' in 'problem-solving networks' that had been created through relations between residents as clients and the ANC and/or SANCO as patrons and brokers. The ANC politicians were patrons of the past. But they still asserted themselves as gatekeepers, patrons, brokers and translators -- yet at a point when they were powerless to influence municipal decisions on resource allocation.

## **2.6 Unclear details of the alternative source of energy: enumeration and a 400km journey - for what?**

After the much awaited meeting of August 28 around which residents' expectations of electricity were built, three significant events occurred: two meetings (one at the SI premises and another one at the office of the Speaker) and a 400km trip to George within the Western Cape Province. The significance of these events revolved around the contestations of the source of energy around which upgrading of Enkanini settlement would be pursued.

A meeting was called by the iShack manager to spell out the post-August 28 activities and changes in the iShack research project on September 4, at around 5:30 pm. Present at the meeting were the iShack manager (Rose, who had made the SI presentation at the August 28 meeting at the municipality), two SI research students, myself and three 'co-researchers' from Enkanini. The agenda of the meeting was to reflect on the August 28 meeting; the roles of the iShack manager (she had only recently been recruited by the research project), the SI's two research students and the four iShack 'co-researchers' from Enkanini; and also to consider a complaint from the one lady occupying a prototype iShack.

Chairing the meeting, Rose straightaway went on to highlight the need for clarification of her presentation of August 28. As a way to project the municipality 'support' for the iShack, she revealed that days before the August 28 meeting, the Mayor and Speaker had convened a meeting with the SI leadership and 'expressed their willingness to work with SI on the iShack project'. In clarifying her presentation, she said no-one in the audience on August 28 had noticed that SI can only provide 100 households with solar energy technology. This was true, as her Powerpoint presentation on that day had showed. The limitation of the SI intervention to 100 households was due to the capacity of the SI's grant funding to scale-up from their experiments in the iShack research project. SI expected that the municipality would, through access to subsidies for alternative or renewable sources of energy, cover the greater part.

The second clarification, which was not apparent on August 28, was that the example of a solar-energy project in Witsand (Langeberg Local Municipality, Western Cape, South Africa) that SI had argued was evidence of the success of solar energy, was not

a right case to convince Enkanini residents to visit. The visit was meant to showcase to Enkanini residents the feasibility of solar-based household energy access. This was because the solar technology used at Witsand related to wall insulation and to solar geysers in RDP houses and not to an informal settlement. This was important because there were plans for Enkanini residents to undertake excursions to witness success stories on the utilization of solar technology.

Rose then indicated that an alternative site for visitation had to be identified. She also expressed her concern that the fact that SI was sitting in the same wing of the boardroom as the municipal officers during the August 28 meeting would be interpreted by Enkanini residents as a sign that SI had been co-opted by the municipality in their response to Enkanini residents' demands.

On the roles of the newly restructured project team, Rose informed the meeting that there were changes with regard to the iShack project. The main change was that the iShack research project had been transformed into an intervention project.

This was news to research students and 'co-researchers' alike but for the latter it would lead to the realization of their aspiration, as SI had promised them, to work as hub operators in a planned centre that would be providing support to the roll-out of the iShacks. In my several interactions with the 'co-researchers', while they were providing maintenance to the five prototypes that were used for research, they had displayed some mastery in doing repairs. In fact, several images of the iShack had the 'co-researchers' pausing on the roof of the iShack. However, their hopes to be hub operators were devastated when Rose informed them that, as part of the transition into an intervention project, the posts of the hub operators would be advertised for 'technically' competent technicians. They looked dejected as they told Rose about the sentiments of the woman who was occupying the iShack that had been show-cased globally. The occupant of that iShack prototype expressed her non-interest in further interviews with the press on the iShack, saying she was not receiving anything from this publicity. Rose said that participation in publicity was part of the occupant's agreement hence she could not retreat as the interviews with the press were also a way of marketing the research project.

The clarifications made by Rose during that meeting were not relayed to the leadership of Enkanini. For instance, on September 10 the leadership of Enkanini came to the

municipality with some female residents saying they were ready to go to Witsand. The asked to see the Speaker and were given an appointment on the afternoon of September 13. This push by residents was based on their impatience, as well as a quest for tangible outcomes from engagements made with the municipality. On September 11 Mathanzima showed me an SMS from Rose indicating the need for an alternative site to visit instead of Witsand.

The meeting on September 13 at 15:00 at the office of the Speaker was attended by Lusanda, Mathanzima and Andile (accompanied by the group of women I saw two days before going for the afore-mentioned September 11 meeting); the KDF leadership; municipality representatives (Speaker; Director for Planning and Economic Development; Informal Settlements Unit Officer; and one isiXhosa-speaking DA Councillor) led by the Housing portfolio councillor. Rose, for the SI, and two fellow students from the institute were also there. SDI/CORC was expected to be present but was absent. The isiXhosa-speaking Councillor, was interpreting from and into English and isiXhosa. The agenda items dealt with the iShack rollout, the issue of electricity demands from Enkanini residents, and the planned excursion to view comparable solar technology.

Mathanzima quickly protested that there were many actors in the meeting even though they had only requested to see the Speaker. The Planning and Economic Director responded to Mathanzima by explaining that the municipality's approach to Enkanini was through a municipality-SI-SDI-Enkanini Community partnership, 'with Enkanini people as drivers, while Stellenbosch Municipality is a helper'. He then gave the example of Langrug where a similar approach was used. In this partnership, KDF was not mentioned.

One of the Enkanini residents said that the multiplicity of actors was delaying the process of intervening at Enkanini and the residents remained dissatisfied with the explanations. Rose then explained the role of SI and used the opportunity to clarify that the iShack rollout could at that time only benefit 100 households and that SI would need to initially select five households for a demonstration. She said that for any demand beyond the 100, the municipality would have to come in to complement the work of the SI. Interestingly, the municipality leadership present in the meeting did not show any signal to validate the complementary role of the municipality, neither did

residents seek a commitment from the municipality. She went further to state that in those following three months SI would be selecting 100 households.

At this point the participating residents protested about the small capacity of the iShack rollout and the long time it would take to get electricity to all residents in Enkanini. They asked that the solar issue therefore be shelved. Their argument was that the solar option would distract them from their pursuit of grid-based electricity. The Housing portfolio councillor then told the meeting that the grid option would take ‘a very long, long time’<sup>21</sup>, a response which drew anger from the KDF deputy chairperson who rebuked the councillor for causing despondency among Enkanini residents. At that moment, instead of interpreting, the councillor who was there to interpret devoted a great amount of time to explain to residents in isiXhosa that ‘there are white people vigilantly monitoring any formal developments at Enkanini’ (supposedly referring to the Rate Payers’ Association). When the KDF representative then pushed to proceed and agree on a tentative schedule for the solar rollout, Enkanini residents reminded him to be careful as the entire community had yet to endorse the rollout. Residents in the meeting had received something tangible they could report back on to the community. Rose then said SI had found a site that could be visited to observe how solar technology was used to access electricity, namely in the town of George.

On September 20, a 25-seater bus, hired by the municipality picked us up at 5:00 am in front of the Corridor Offices in Kayamandi. It was a Thursday. There were ten Enkanini residents (five men including Ayanda and Andile; and five women). The ward councillor was present with another female councillor. Other male political figures were Mr. Sigguma-Nkungwini, three SANCO men, the KDF chairman, KDF deputy-chair, and one municipal official from the Informal Settlement Unit. CORC was expected to send a representative but no-one came. Mathanzima and Andile, as a way to assert their influence in the leadership struggle, did not submit Lusanda as part of the traveling delegation.

Before we took off, Mathanzima confronted the ward councillor and protested why she was going with them as she was not invited. Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini chided him and

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<sup>21</sup> As it would require the municipality to first solve the nature reserve issue and rezoning the area occupied by Enkanini.



told him to keep quiet. As we took off, there was caucusing going on in the back seats, with Mathanzima cautioning his fellow Enkanini residents to be vigilant, as he did not understand the presence of so many Kayamandi-based politicians as well as KDF representatives. Mathanzima also telephoned Rose (SI) to ask her why she was not travelling with them. Rose told him she would meet the SI delegation at George. Mathanzima became suspicious on why Rose had made an advance trip some day(s) earlier. He cautioned the Enkanini men to be on the look-out for SI manoeuvrings, saying he did not understand why SI had gone ahead of everyone. Along the way, food was bought for the traveling group.

We arrived midday in George at the premises of a factory that specialized in the design and production of household appliances that are dependent on solar energy. We were immediately led to a prepared meeting room where a Powerpoint presentation on the virtues of solar energy was done. The PowerPoint slides were presented in English, with an SI student interpreting in isiXhosa. The presentation outlined the origin of electricity and compared DC with AC. It was revealed that AC has the disadvantage of having high voltage being lost during distribution and the fact that it uses more power while the same function can be performed by DC's 12V. The presenter then highlighted that AC is unsustainable, remarking that *'informal settlements and rural areas do not need transformers'*. The presenter then illustrated two (small and big) types of solar panels and said the small panel can support lights only. Its components are a panel, a battery, a circuit box (units) – and the appliances. The company had designed incremental flexibility where users intending to increase the number of appliances could upgrade their systems by getting larger panels. The presenter concluded by saying *'Stellenbosch Municipality can then inform them of the system they're interested to get for Enkanini solar intervention'*. Immediately the reality dawned on the Enkanini delegates that, at that moment, SI did not even have a system that they wanted to introduce at Enkanini.

After the presentation, we were taken into the showroom displaying the range of electrical products that use solar energy. The man who made the presentation indicated that their system worked only with flat TV screens (not the older bulging ones). He added that the fridges that were designed for AC needed to be changed and transformed by his company (at a cost of R2 500) to use DC. While this had long-



term financial gains (for example, a fridge using 25V instead of 300V), people from Enkanini were surprised that they would have to meet all those requirements. Meanwhile the councillors were interested in what it would cost them to convert their own gadgets (fridge, microwaves, pressure cookers, etc.). Women from Enkanini remarked that they wanted a system that could support a stove, iron and heaters. Everyone was then told they needed to eat lunch before departing to Smutsville (Sedgefield) near Knysna to see houses that were using solar technology. Our delegation was then taken to a house in Smutsville where two houses and one shack had solar installations.

In the first house, we only viewed the circuit box and the lights. The lady in the house, who spoke isiXhosa, indicated that the system had been installed three days before and that the bulb had blown already. Women from Enkanini asked to see a stove, TV and fridge working. However, the woman using the solar system, did not own a TV. At the second house it was the same situation. We were then informed that we needed to see a third house, where there was a TV. The third house was a shack in a formal settlement. When the owner of the shack came, the shack was opened and we were shown a solar system of an older version whose battery capacity was smaller and enabled the TV to be switched on at 7pm. Since the visit was at around 2 pm, we did not see the TV working. We were also informed that the battery stores power for eight hours of use; for lights and TV. This made sense, as the battery would be charged while the owner would be at work and in the evening the stored power would be enough for lights and TV for that night. But the fact that the Enkanini delegation consisted of men and women, some of whom spend their days at home, meant that the demonstration was not palatable to them. Most men from Enkanini in the delegation ran *izimokolo* (taverns), and they said they were looking for a system that supported electricity demands for the whole day. The shack we were viewing was built adjacent to a local power distribution line, and one politician within the delegation questioned why the shack was being served with a solar installation when there was a power line next to it? Enkanini men remarked that if that was their house, they would just connect themselves to the power line.

A debate ensued among Enkanini men when Andile indicated that what they had seen was not what they had expected. Mathanzima recalled that during the presentation an hour earlier, they were shown two solar panels (small and big) and said they would

not accept the smaller ones. Enkanini residents debated on what could be powered by the system, as well as the yet unclear financial aspects, the changes of appliances from AC to DC, and how they would get (for example) bulb replacements when they needed them since it seemed the company would be supplying all the service support.

When I suggested to one SI representative to come closer to clarify those issues for them, he was reluctant and said they would elaborate some other day. The Enkanini delegation preferred to argue among themselves, instead of seeking advice and elaboration from SI and the solar company personnel present. The argument was mainly led by Andile who suspected that the solar alternative was just a palliative diversion away from the option of electricity from the grid. On our way back (in the bus), this argument continued, with Andile expressing his suspicions. When we arrived in Stellenbosch at 8pm, Stellenbosch and Cape Town were visible from a long distance while Enkanini was hidden in the dark.

## **2.7 No Post-George Action and Protests**

Since the arrangement of community meetings, which were held on Sundays when the majority of residents could be present, were still in the hands of local Kayamandi-based politicians, Mathanzima and Andile tried without success to schedule a meeting to give residents their feedback on the visit to George. Residents were murmuring about why they had not been told what was seen there. The failure to convene a general meeting was due to the influence of ANC and SANCO politicians who argued that the municipality had to include this feedback in their Council meetings and that Enkanini residents had to wait for that feedback first. After waiting for two weekends without any feedback from the municipality, and with residents spreading a rumour that those who went to George got something for themselves there, Mathanzima and Andile called for a meeting on a Tuesday evening (October 2) and informed the SANCO and ANC leaders in Kayamandi about the meeting.

A large group of residents had assembled at around 5:00 pm at the usual meeting place in Phezulu. Mathanzima called Mr. Sigguma-Nkungwini to tell him that the residents were ready. After approximately twenty minutes, Mr. Sigguma-Nkungwini arrived in a Toyota Fortuner and called Mathanzima and Andile into the car. After fifteen minutes Andile got out fuming, going to his shack and saying that those he

called 'the politicians' were forcing them to accept the solar option as community leaders and that the meeting was therefore cancelled. Mathanzima looked embarrassed when he addressed the people to apologise that the meeting had been postponed as the municipality was yet to give feedback about the George trip. Mr. Sigguma-Nkungwini and another man who was with him in the car, came to explain that the municipality was still busy preparing its own feedback, so it would be premature for Enkanini leaders to report back to residents before they had sat with the municipality. To a certain extent this made sense technically; but residents wanted tangible responses to their demands for electricity. Residents became angry and insulted the two Kayamandi-based politicians before finally dispersing.

Nothing more materialized regarding the awaited feedback from the municipality. After more than a week after the foiled October 2 meeting, Mathanzima and Andile called SI and the municipality several times, telling them of the growing impatience among residents. It appeared that Mathanzima and Andile wanted the municipality to at least show that it was responding in a tangible way.

On October 4, 2012, the SI sent an invitation for a 5:30 pm meeting at the SI. It was sent to Lusanda, Mathanzima, the ward councillor, the KDF leadership, SDI and CORC, the municipality and the company from George that manufactured solar systems. The agenda was to talk about a way forward about the solar roll-out, especially in order to understand the stakeholders and their roles in the upgrading of Enkanini, as well as the timeline for the project. SI gave the Enkanini leaders and KDF leaders R12 each for transport. None of SDI, CORC, or the municipality sent a representative to this meeting.

When the meeting started, Rose asked those present about the prospects of acceptance of the solar option at Enkanini. The two KDF leaders gave her a positive response by highlighting that, with the approaching summer, fridges would make a difference for the people. At that moment Mathanzima interjected and asked the two KDF leaders on what basis were they endorsing the solar option when they had actually cancelled a general meeting that was meant to give the community feedback on the George visit, and when the municipality still had not given feedback. The two KDF representatives were a bit embarrassed and it appeared only then to dawn on Rose that the residents had not been given feedback on the George trip. Mathanzima

and Andile then left the meeting to chat outside. Lusanda was quiet throughout the meeting. The meeting failed to proceed as Rose advised that the municipality had to give feedback to the meeting.

When Mathanzima returned to the meeting and argued that residents had not decided on the solar option, Rose said that money was available to test solar technology and 'if the community of Enkanini do not want this option then another community will be approached to participate in the project'.

Mathanzima and Andile then organised a general meeting on 9 October where both addressed residents alleging that Lusanda, who was not actually at the meeting, already had a list of people who were to benefit from the solar project. Residents then shouted that Lusanda was no longer their leader. When all the allegations (of having a list of people who were to benefit from the solar project) were made against Lusanda, he was not present. When Lusanda later arrived and heard of people's anger towards him, he challenged them (residents) to indicate whether any of them had submitted his or her name to him to be put on a list of potential solar-energy system beneficiaries? Even though none came forward with proof, most people still distrusted him. At that moment it remained an allegation as there was no evidence except Mathanzima and Andile asking why, during the meeting of 4 October at the SI he (Lusanda) had kept quiet throughout and never challenged the KDF leaders. Lusanda merely ignored their question. The study will show later that he was actually working with Kayamandi-based political leaders to push for the rolling out of the solar project against the wishes of residents.

The very next day, on 10 October another meeting was convened at the Corridor Offices by the Informal Settlement Unit (Stellenbosch Municipality) as pressure was mounting to give feedback on George. It was attended by Enkanini residents, the municipality official who was part of the delegation to George together with another female official from the Informal Settlement Unit, a SI representative, the Ward 12 councillor, CORC and SDI. The agenda was outlined as follows: Report back on the George trip, clarity on the leadership/Street Committee. Mathanzima then added that 'we need also to talk about electricity, relocation of residents in the flood-prone areas in the valley, toilets, street lights, crèches and rezoning. The CORC representative

who had been facilitating the enumeration programme chaired the meeting, speaking both in isiXhosa and English.

The ten residents who had visited George were asked to give their reports and were advised to stick to the facts and not to be subjective. Mathanzima was asked by the municipality official to introduce his delegation that went to George, but he refused and objected that this was a waste of time as people already knew them. Andile stood up to speak. He recounted what he had seen in the solar factory and in the homes. He outlined that, at the factory, there was a fridge, a TV, but no stove. In all the homes visited there were neither fridges nor stoves, but only light bulbs, radios, and TVs. The TV screen that was seen in the third house only worked after 7:00 pm. There was humming among the residents who expressed shock that the report did not fit with their expectations of the household appliances they envisioned would be supported by electricity. Andile continued to elaborate that they were informed that if bulbs became defective, the supplier would provide new ones. He also added that appliances would need to be modified to fit into the DC system.

One man, an owner of a small tavern, declared that 'Enkanini community has already resolved that they don't want solar'. He said the problem they had was that some leaders who came from outside Enkanini were deciding for the residents. This was a reference to Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and his fellow politicians from SANCO and KDF. He also blamed the ward councillor for allowing herself to be swallowed by men from SANCO, the ANC and the KDF. He then warned that the municipality should directly liaise with Enkanini before residents started doing ugly things. At that moment it was no longer the people who went to George who were talking as people argued that the feedback was irrelevant because they had taken a decision to reject solar. Another woman said that when self-enumeration had begun the issue was about grid electricity and not solar electricity. She then also dismissed the re-zoning argument saying that, if the place was actually a nature reserve, why had the residents been asked for their votes? She also castigated the councillor for not being seen at Enkanini. She further asked how the 100 solar units would be distributed, again questioning why initial services had been provided if the area was a nature reserve.

Another lady argued that the whole enumeration process was linked to grid electricity, and that the municipality and ward councillor should therefore know that as a

community, 'we want electricity, not solar'. The municipality official remarked that he could not address some of the issues raised himself but added that he could submit them to the higher offices. A man from Enkanini said he was worried about the delays in getting electricity and emphasised that at the end of the meeting, milestones on providing [grid] electricity would have to be outlined. Another lady then added that 'the issue of solar should be removed from the agenda, we are tired of hearing about it'. And yet another resident (male) said that the councillor was distancing herself from the residents by not advancing their interests. The tavern-owner who had spoken initially said, 'We are giving *umasipala* (the municipality) one week to respond to our concerns'. He shot down the abilities of the councillor and castigated SANCO for calling their leaders to meetings outside Enkanini (and for issues not pertinent to them). To the municipality he said: 'It seems *umasipala* needs special incidents such as a death to happen so that they can respond to our concerns'. One man then asked the municipality representatives to give a response as the residents were the ones who had been talking all along. Yet they remained passive. Mathanzima then told the municipality to stop liaising with Lusanda on Enkanini issues a sentiment that one lady supported saying again that the municipality henceforth should not contact Lusanda and that this was not just Mathanzima's demand but that of the community.

The SI representative then spoke, saying that he understood people's need for electricity and outlined his intimacy and sympathy with Enkanini concerns. He disclosed that SI had received money from the USA to upgrade Enkanini and it was the residents' choice: 'if they don't want solar, it's their right of choice but electricity will take a longer time to come'. He said 'solar is not there to replace electricity, but if you refuse it, SI will take it to other areas'. One man from Enkanini suggested that, since SI had the money but residents did not want solar, 'why can't SI re-direct that money to Stellenbosch Municipality (SM) for electricity provision'? There was no response from SI. One man sought clarification on the solar intervention, since it was not clear to the community. But he also added: 'nonetheless, the solar option at Enkanini is not welcome'.

The official from the municipality asked Mathanzima to provide him with the names and residential sections of the Enkanini leadership committee members. He probably suspected that the speakers at the meeting were not part of a legitimate leadership group but merely vocal individuals. He said he appreciated the re-connection that

residents were evidently building with the councillor as it fitted well with municipality procedures for engaging with residents. He promised he would at a later stage provide information on rezoning, toilets and street lights. The meeting ended without any direction nor commitments, neither was there any feedback from the municipality after that meeting.

Just eight days later, on 18 October, at around 10:00 am, Enkanini residents made a protest march along Bird Street to the municipality. Women were waving placards on which was written: 'We want electricity only'. The mobilisation was done in the morning and Enkanini's leaders were absent. The leaders told me that they had withdrawn when they had been advised that it would be bad if they were seen to be leading an illegal march after establishing a talking relation with the municipality. They explained to me that their strategy was to mobilise residents to take charge of the protest themselves. The marching throng was, however, blocked by the South African Police Service (SAPS) at the corner of the main road (Bird Street) from Kayamandi to the town and Alexander Road near one of the central malls in the town centre (Eikestad Mall). They were told that the march was illegal. One resident was arrested for insulting one of the police officers. After more than 40 minute stand-off with the police, the crowd was advised by the SAPS to nominate people to meet with municipal officials and they eventually identified four. It emerged afterwards that during the stand-off, the police were looking for a specific leader, especially a 'dark and fat guy' (a description that would fit Mathanzima) to arrest him for organizing an illegal protest.

The protesters then ignored the police blockade at the Eikestad Mall and went to the municipal parking area close to the municipal offices. There residents sat down for more than an hour waiting for the four residents who had gone into a meeting with the municipal leadership. While waiting there, women were toy-toying<sup>22</sup> and singing in front of the police. During the waiting time, men started discussing politics, mostly castigating elected representatives whom they labelled as people interested in votes only. They explained that voters were ladders for the ANC politicians and that when they [politicians] had risen to the top, they kicked the ladder away. Journalists were around and caused a police officer to restrain himself when he realised he was being filmed while loading his gun with rubber bullets. Finally, the four representative

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<sup>22</sup> A protest dance mainly characterized by stomping of feet, singing or shouting slogans.



residents returned and reported that they met with the Speaker. They said Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and another SANCO man had joined the meeting later but that they had refused to greet the four of them. They said an appointment had been made with the Speaker for the following day at 11:00 am at the Council Chambers. The four residents were advised by the Speaker to select six more people to accompany them to the meeting. They also planned a feedback meeting for the same evening at Enkanini to brief all residents.

## **2.8 ‘*Sikhothana lethamb’ elingela nyama*’<sup>23</sup> and more rifts**

The next day’s scheduled meeting took place as planned in the Council Chambers. While residents thought this was their meeting with the municipality, they were surprised to find more than ten Kayamandi-based politicians representing the KDF, Kayamandi councillors, SANCO, and the ANC of Kayamandi. The Speaker was accompanied by the Housing Portfolio Councillor and officials from the Informal Settlements Unit. The details of the meeting, the strained relations and protests that ensued thereafter will be elaborated on later. What can be noted is that residents protested about the interfering role of the Kayamandi-based politicians in the attempts of Enkanini residents to forge direct relations with the municipality.

The situation seemed to work in favour of the municipality as the energies of Enkanini residents were diverted. Residents were formulating a direct route to bring the municipality to respond to their demands which was simultaneously a rebellion against their former Kayamandi-based patrons.

At the same time, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini attempted to assert his influence on Enkanini. After observing the growing signs of rebellion by residents against their erstwhile patrons, at one point I expressed my concern to one of the Kayamandi politicians and senior leader of the KDF about the implications of the move by Enkanini residents to articulate demands that were contrary to those of Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and the other KDF leaders. Residents were already angered by Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini’s endorsement of the solar energy option without their *consent*.

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<sup>23</sup> Literally, it means, “We are fighting over a meatless bone”.



My concern stemmed from the fact that, given their historical relations of patronage, residents would be left without a mediator with the municipality since neither the ISN nor any academic-*cum*-activist organisation (as in AbM) was present in the study area. In particular, I mentioned remarks made by residents during the August 28 feedback community meeting where they shouted, “We don’t want Sigquma-Nkungwini and SANCO and their politics in Enkanini!” Smiling, the Deputy Chair of the KDF had replied, “Enkanini is Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini’s baby”<sup>24</sup> and further remarked that Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini was able to handle their rebellion.

This remark, and the KDF leader’s recognition of rebellion, reveals a great deal about a community of shack dwellers, the emerging discord and the formation of a relatively autonomous demand for better living conditions. However, a paternalistic domination over shack dwellers by a single politician who decided what was good or bad for the community was a clear disjuncture from the representation in scholarly work of shack dwellers’ mobilisation as a militant, disruptive and self-determining agent of people’s power (Bond, 2012; Selmeczi, 2012a). The KDF Deputy Chair’s view of Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini’s ability to handle the ‘rebellion’ emanated from the fact that the majority of residents and their leaders who were rejecting the solar energy option had started residing in Enkanini well after Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini had fallen from power in the municipality. One can perhaps interpret residents’ hostility towards him as evidence of their ‘naiveté’, because of the historical role of political heavyweights like Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini and his expectation that Enkanini should project a disposition of subservience towards him given the historical favours that he had extended to Enkanini settlement whilst still in power in the municipality.

An example of the tensions relates to one of the leaders (Mathanzima) who had come to Enkanini only in early 2010, along with his now fellow leaders. Lusanda, a former leader who had participated in the 2007 invasion explicitly dismissed Mathanzima as ‘a novice in Enkanini who does not know how to relate to a politician like Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini’. Yet Lusanda himself, as has been noted, had actually lost influence as a leader once the residents had come to view him as Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini’s ‘boy’, a fact that was also corroborated by the Ward 12 councillor. Nonetheless, the so-called

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<sup>24</sup> Interview with the Deputy Chair of the KDF on September 25, 2012.

‘novices’ – most of whom were residents who had started to reside in Enkanini only after the ANC-led coalition had been ousted from the municipal executive – showed a parallel commanding influence when they stimulated and mobilised the community to defy the solar energy option and its endorsement by the area’s erstwhile patrons.

This chapter poses key questions about the meaning of this insurrectional turn by residents, emerging from a history of Enkanini that is fraught with the footprints of Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini that exist beneath his shadow of political manoeuvres and ANC patronage.

Another instance that demonstrated Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini’s influence while not diluting the potency of the Enkanini shack dwellers, was his statement, during a meeting convened by SANCO on the evening of October 24, 2012. SANCO had convened the meeting to determine why Enkanini’s leaders had embarrassed them by *walking out* of the meeting with the speaker on October 19, 2012. The October 19 meeting, they pointed out, had been *requested* by Mathanzima to follow up with the municipality on shack dwellers’ concerns since enumeration had been completed. Yet Mathanzima and his colleagues had *walked out* of that meeting, precisely because they were angered by the presence of the Kayamandi-based politicians, and threatened to direct their frustrations at the latter. In the October 24 meeting, the Enkanini representatives who attended explained why they had walked out. They complained about the endorsement of solar energy by the Kayamandi-based politicians while the Enkanini residents had not been consulted. Yet, despite their explaining, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini made a commanding and divisive statement by saying that solar energy should be accepted and that those who did not want it (clearly referring to the Enkanini leaders present at the meeting) should not block those who did want it –although he presented no evidence from residents that there were a significant number who did want a solar option. His remark was evidence, nonetheless, of his persistent attempt to display the continuity of his role since the formation of the settlement.

During the same meeting, one of the Enkanini leaders complained and *questioned* why non-Enkanini people and Kayamandi politicians were interested in meddling with and championing Enkanini issues when Kayamandi had its own chronic problems of underdevelopment and a comparatively larger share of shacks.

What became clear from these various interactions was that the reason why ANC politicians endorsed the solar option was not because of its intrinsic ecological rationale as advanced by SI, nor it being a palliative symbol of response by the municipality. It was that those Kayamandi politicians not only wanted to regain their prior role as brokers in resource distribution in Enkanini; they also wanted to project a symbol of their authority that could compensate for their dethronement from control over the municipality. They did that by asserting their authority over Enkanini and attempting to unsettle any autonomous voice of what they thought of as a newly matured child who could only just decide for him or herself.

At that moment of the clientelistic relations, and since by that time, the potential for reciprocity was no longer an issue, the most significant and symbolic gesture the erstwhile patrons could make was to be seen as facilitating mobilisation of resources into the community – whether those were wanted or not. So, the endorsement of the solar option by the KDF can be best interpreted as a means for them to re-assert their paternalistic roles as well as to diffuse the emerging autonomous articulation of community demands by Enkanini residents themselves.

Though later chapters will discuss the issue of agency with regard to the question of confrontation, at this moment I wish to highlight the political influence of Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini. He calmly responded to a question posed to him by Enkanini residents about his political influence by arguing that, when he was deputy mayor of the municipality, he had championed the provision of services at Enkanini. That was true because it happened during his tenure as the deputy mayor. He further remarked, now in jest, that the reason why there was no development in Enkanini was because the ANC had lost the municipal elections in December 2009 and in May 2011.<sup>25</sup> He said that amid laughter from the SANCO members present at the October 24 meeting.

The jest and the consequent laughter was a disguised criticism of the presumed naiveté of the leadership of Enkanini that was fighting to bypass the KDF by engaging directly with the municipality. Indeed, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini ended by saying that, as an attempt to expose the naiveté and ignorance of the leadership of Enkanini, “it was us, as Kayamandi leaders”, who had told Enkanini’s initial occupants “*ukuthi bayequtha balinde*” (to squat and stay put) in early 2007. This was a candid way of

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

ascribing an identity to Enkanini residents of their being clients, an ascription which the clients seemed not to care for or consent to. The clandestine historical certification of invasion by the settlement residents' erstwhile patrons was nonetheless brought to the fore to assert their claims and demands for loyalty and subordination from Enkanini. The incident also confirmed the KDF Deputy Chair's earlier comment that Enkanini was Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini's 'baby'.

When this is interpreted within the traditional African context, it means that parents determine what is best for their child. More so in patriarchal societies, this parental role remains influential regardless of whether the child has chronologically become an adult. This baby or child metaphor emerged out of the patronage context as a process of making shack dwellers into long-term clients. It was actually a version of patronage that seemed to make the patron-client relationship nonreciprocal by denying a voice to shack dwellers and preventing their exit from such relationships.

It is therefore necessary to note that these claims for loyalty and subordination by the Kayamandi-based politicians interacted with 'pressure from below' as residents countered the authority of their supposed 'elders'. This pressure from below was coming from residents seeking substance in the form of services that could improve their lives, and they did so through attempts to forge direct relations with the local government. This put pressure on the erstwhile patrons because unmediated access to the municipality would have made them redundant. In such circumstances, patrons moved away from being clients to higher political levels and this created 'pressure from above' (Lapegna, 2013).

The case of clientelism, pressure from below and pressure from above, studied by Lapegna in Argentina shows social movement leaders at provincial level using their alliance with the country's president and ruling party to manage the pressure from below. They did this by securing resources such as food, scholarships and health services from national level to satisfy the daily needs of clients. According to Lapegna (2013), though some of these clients had cause to criticise the social movement leadership, they found themselves unable to do so as they risked losing the benefits that they were receiving, thus leading to their demobilisation.

Chapter 6 explains how this worked, to a certain extent, in Cape Town informal settlements. The N1 Gateway Housing Project<sup>26</sup> was directly implemented by the national government and controlled by the ANC without the cooperation of the DA-led city administration and, as such, the pressure from below was managed. Collective mobilisation at township level could emerge, and as long as it was directed at the DA leadership in municipalities, it still fitted well into the ANC's project of taking back the Cape. However, this was different in shack settlements such as Enkanini in a town such as Stellenbosch. Here, there was a risk that patrons who were not at the helm of power at municipal level might struggle to meet the demands of their clients. In the case described by Lapegna (2013), clients were demobilised and prospects of autonomous collective action were preempted by the reciprocal clientelistic relationships. In cases such as Enkanini, autonomous mobilisation can occur as politicians fail to sustain clientelism because, being out of power, they transform themselves into brokers of discourse instead of being patrons of substance.

Enkanini shack dwellers displayed their own polemic counter-articulations that defied Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini's exclusive role of brokerage and that translated the aspirations of Enkanini residents. It was polemical because shack dwellers were articulating their own aspirations outside of the existing hegemony of Kayamandi politicians who wanted to mediate relations between Enkanini and the municipality. The same 'naïve' young Enkanini leaders challenged and subverted Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini's position. They repeatedly remarked that they did not want 'politics' in their fight to draw the municipality's attention to address their plight. By politics they meant an empty political discourse carried on at several meetings with the municipality. In this context, politics to residents meant mere rhetoric that was not persuasive and effective enough to result in service provision.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will further interpret the sporadic but noteworthy autonomous mobilisations that critiqued ineffective patrons and directly confronted the municipality, demanding better services.

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<sup>26</sup> To provide housing to residents who were living in backyards and informal settlements.

## 2.9 Porous patronage and open moments

The above descriptions present a situational field revealing a mobilisation that was built upon a historical legacy of patronage, and the mixture of technical fixes versus a community-driven approach by the SI and SDI respectively.

The logic of patronage that had prevailed at Enkanini since its formation and the turn to autonomy by residents presents a duality of two kinds of politics. The first is institutionalised politics, which I link to patronage, whereby the individual member exists for the organisation and can be dispensed with (c.f. Fominaya, 2007). This relates to the tendencies of transforming Enkanini into an owned, loyal constituency or a vote bank whose existence and loyalty are to the benefit of the patrons and their political parties. This is evidenced by the fact that after the formation of the settlement, an ANC candidate was elected to represent the settlement, though residents later criticised her for subjecting herself to being a shadow of the big Kayamandi politicians. Lusanda, who became the leader of the settlement, was labelled as Sigguma-Nkungwini's 'boy' while the KDF leader was unequivocal in his assertion that Enkanini was Sigguma-Nkungwini's 'baby'. The KDF leader also said, confidently, that Sigguma-Nkungwini was able to handle the 'rebellion' by Enkanini residents.

This institutional presentation of patronage politics and its predatory patrons interestingly thrives within the same context where the second kind of politics exists, namely a seemingly discordant and quasi-autonomous voice that defies the commands and norms of the patrons. It was this possibility and the emergence of the autonomous articulations by shack dwellers that illustrated 'open moments' (Gourevitch, 1986) in the previously patron-dominated social setting of Enkanini.

Gourevitch's curious observation of opportunities created and choices made during crises has been utilised to elaborate open moments in the trajectories of social movements. For instance, Gamson and Meyer (1996:280) argue that open moments evolve in crises when "... actors bargain for new political arrangements. Much of what has been taken for fixed is momentarily fluid .... Opportunities for protest and policy change for poor people are exceptional and sporadic (cf. Piven and Cloward 1979), suggesting that there is little poor people can do to press their claims in other times, or to make their own opportunities".

The story of Enkanini consists of two coexisting wings of local-level politics that are not apparent to an outsider, particularly the state. Both wings were able to stimulate emotions that could trigger protests at certain moments. However, as Walder (2009) argues, the key issue in contemporary research on mobilisation processes in social movement literature is to understand the ‘political orientations’ during mobilisations rather than the capacity to mobilise. Capacity to mobilise is not significant because discontent exists as a constant in any society of shack dwellers where the demands often exceed the capacity of the state and NGOs to deliver (De Wit and Berner, 2009). Hence, anyone can stimulate and mobilise shack dwellers. Political orientation refers to the ability to alter and shape the beliefs of the followers (Walder, 2009). This turns one’s analytical interest back to a political orientation debate. Patrons project a classical picture where they provide brokerage and translate the needs of residents of settlements such as Enkanini to anyone interested in bringing some development intervention to the community. The patronage and translations of 2007 in Enkanini positioned the ANC as the dominant agent to champion the cause of the overcrowded Kayamandi, which it did by facilitating decongestion, access to land and basic services. This partially explains SANCO’s disruption of the enumeration process and the KDF’s omnipresence in almost all meetings between shack dwellers and the municipality because it reveals an attempt to gain political mileage out of the initiatives meant to address the needs of residents.

However, within this same overarching presence of politicians, crises and interstices exist in which ‘novices’ see an opportunity to articulate a different and/or autonomous position. This difference can come in the form of a self-articulated or nontranslated immanent desire of residents or those championed by alternative brokers.

A crisis moment in Enkanini began in December 2009 when patrons fell out of decision-making platforms that could channel resources to their clients. The crisis also emanated from a subgroup among residents. For instance 70%<sup>27</sup> of the residents of Enkanini in my research period did not participate in the initial occupation as they had arrived in the settlement only after the political settlement on relocation had been concluded. Hence, the legacy of patronage could *not be expected* to demobilise this cohort of residents when they participated in autonomous mobilisations towards the

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<sup>27</sup> Enkanini Community Leadership/Stellenbosch Municipality/CORC/ISN (2012).



end of 2012. This was the same group that was considered by Kayamandi-based political leaders to be ‘novices’ and whose defiance was viewed as ‘naïveté’. I deliberately say ‘not expected’ because later chapters will illustrate circumstances where the expected outcomes failed to appear. The influence of patronage was also diluted by the fact that 35% of the residents began living at Enkanini only after Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini had been deposed as deputy mayor. These residents can thus constitute another particular subgroup of novices who do not know how to relate to politicians like Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini.

This relatively large group of young residents<sup>28</sup> with little or no historical links with patrons also formed another factor that was able to open and/or exploit the already opening system of patronage; and it had produced an opportunity for not knowing and for *disrespecting* the erstwhile patrons. Their disrespect stemmed from their not having experienced any reciprocity in the protection provided by Kayamandi-based politicians when the settlement had been threatened with demolition and relocation and when the patrons had played a role in the provision of now existing water and sanitation infrastructure and services in the community. These residents, who had no prior lived experience of Sigguma-Nkungwini’s historical acts of benevolence, were in the subgroup who occupied and exploited the open moments in the contours and interstices of patronage at Enkanini. They occupied those open moments and constructed contestations with patrons on who should decide how, when and by whom feedback was supposed to be given to the community on the excursion to George. For them the question was: Who should decide the source of energy or type of electricity that was supposed to be provided at Enkanini?

The important issue around these questions related to the political orientation of the novices, the notion of framing<sup>29</sup> and the underlying purpose of each frame and framing process. Shouting “*asifun’ ipolitiki apha*” was a double-pronged critique of patrons. Firstly, Enkanini leaders projected residents as apolitical, particularly in such a crisis of absence of effective patrons who could deliver substance. Secondly, this apolitical

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<sup>28</sup> The results of the enumeration process showed that “most (23%) of Enkanini population was aged 25-29 years; followed by 30-34 years (19%); 20-24 years (13%); 35-39 years (10%); 0-4 and 5-9 years had 8% each; while 15-19 and 40-44 years had 5% each” (Enkanini Community Leadership/Stellenbosch Municipality/CORC/ISN, 2012:10).

<sup>29</sup> In this context, framing referred to “the processes by which grievances were constructed, contested, and disseminated” while frames were the “products of those interactions or ideational work” (Snow, Benford, McCammon, Hewitt and Fitzgerald, 2014:30).

image can also be interpreted as a pragmatic way of making their demands political only in seeking effective or transformative politicisation of their discontent and grievances.

The case of Enkanini revealed a scene in 2012 in which the mobilisation of shack dwellers emerged initially as targeted at the municipality for services. However, because the settlement was initiated around the 'traditional party-electoral political machine' (Bond, 2012), the logic of patronage subjected their grievances and discontent to the mediation and translation of patrons. These patrons, because of their political identities, produced frames that were highly political to the extent that they labelled the Deputy Director of the Informal Settlement Unit as representing 'DA politics'.<sup>30</sup> The patrons also argued that the reason why there were so many shacks and a lack of development in the greater Kayamandi area was that the ANC was out of power.

These frames were likely to be further constructed along racial lines as was the case when coloured people contested the idea of the FIFA 2010 tourism project for Stellenbosch located in Kayamandi (Cubizolles, 2011) and when the DA administration was accused of neglecting neighbourhoods dominantly inhabited by certain racial groups.<sup>31</sup> The framing processes of the patrons portrayed them as aligning the discontent and grievances of shack dwellers to exemplify the failure of the then current leading party in the municipality as compared to what they (the patrons) had done for a 'neglected' community.

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<sup>30</sup> A sentiment uttered at one of the general meetings on August 12, 2012. A resident of Kayamandi working at the municipality was called to address the residents. He remarked that the person tasked to work on Enkanini concerns in the Municipality is a coloured person who comes in with DA politics. This was a reference to the Deputy Director of the Informal Settlements Unit. His presence in that unit unsettled the ANC politicians in the sense that he did not hail from Kayamandi, and they were not happy about his direct liaison with the Enkanini people where he was also the one paying the enumerators. Another factor that unsettled Kayamandi politicians was his previous experience at national level as a deputy director in the Department of Human Settlements. That blend of political and technical experience enabled him to discern most of the political machinations of both the DA and the ANC. He had been described as 'the key municipal official driving and managing the relationship with SDI' (Moses, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> "We are disappointed in the DA rule, they have created more wealth (in the town centre) and not in Khayamandi, Idas Valley or Cloetesville" (ANC Western Cape Provincial Chairman Marius Fransman quoted in Independent Online News, 2011).

Within these relatively grand politicised frames, there were symptoms of paralysis among out-of-power patrons whose gatekeeping was weakened as signalled by the emerging ‘rebellion’ from their ‘constituency’. The paralysis of patrons emanated from their alienation from the resource distribution and decision-making processes, and thus they found themselves limited in their response to nonpolitical and purely substantive demands of Enkanini residents. The residents began to see the party-electoral political machine as a hindrance and saw a possibility of circumventing it by making direct and somewhat autonomous contact with the municipality. In those direct engagements, shack dwellers created a prospect of putting their substantive demands forward for themselves; and that rendered the institutional goal of the party-electoral political machine dispensable by their having made their desires supreme. Evidence from Enkanini showed that this was ‘embarrassing’ to the Kayamandi-based politicians, implying that the target of patrons’ frames was the DA executive in the municipality and not their constituency, which fitted well with the logic of patronage.

But how did this rebellion emerge and survive the ‘ambush’ whereby shack dwellers’ demands were substituted by the solar energy option? In the same vein, the SI emerged as issue entrepreneurs who had found a constituency to implement a fashionable niche within current debates on energy. Given the challenges that Eskom was then facing in sustaining electricity supplies that kept up with the demands, such ‘innovations’ would, SI hoped, find good reception among many stakeholders; but this was not necessarily so with all end users.

## **2.10 Conclusion**

This chapter has given a description of the dynamics of relations of resource access among competing interests between dominant political parties, the SDI and SI. Using the case of Enkanini, the dynamics were portrayed in the initial mobilisation and invasion that were subjected to clandestine patronage politics from which shack dwellers derived benefits including protection against relocation as well as provision of water and sanitation services. However, this benevolence of patrons could not continue when patrons were deposed from resource distribution and decision-making processes. This changed the composition of patron-broker-client relationships. Mr

Sigquma-Nkungwini's fall from power made him a broker as well. This was seen as a paralysis that created open moments for novices or clients to seek direct ways of communicating their grievances with the municipality as citizens, not as clients, while their leaders were displaying broker-like antics.

Constructions of urban citizenship, as will be explained later, were located in these direct claim-making practices. However, this brought along contentious politics whereby residents seemed not to embody the dispositions characteristic of clients. It has been argued that the reciprocal relations of support-for-favours are a "result of the habituation it [clientelistic relationship] generates in beneficiaries or clients" by producing "a set of dispositions among those who receive the daily favours from patrons and brokers" (Auyero *et al.* 2009:5). De Wit and Berner (2009) argue that with the prevalence of poverty in shack settlements, prospects of a 'Faustian bargain' (cf. Wood, 2003) are highly likely. This happens when the urban poor foresee the long-term value of clientelistic relations and will not, therefore, cut off any links with patrons. Enkanini residents did the opposite through their quasi-autonomous mobilisation, and this interacted with several tactics of patrons to stifle those residents' autonomous voice. In these mobilisations, some collective identity formation, voicing and messaging of residents' aspiration occurred. Though there was a competing claim for legitimate leadership between Mathanzima (and some residents from Phezulu) and Lusanda from eZansi, the quasi-autonomous mobilisation created horizontal relationships in which the shack dwellers had a shared sense of the inadequacy of the service provision and the prevailing indignity in their settlement. Sharing a history of neglect and being bypassed by the service reticulation networks created common attributes and solidarity that were embodied in 'we' when residents met in one of their rituals – the general meetings. In those general meetings as well as other meetings with the municipality, Kayamandi-based politicians and SI, there was a shared definition of ends and aspirations especially regarding the need to access grid electricity. However, this solidarity and commitment to voice their desires was emerging from a polity that was a by-product of clandestine political relations with patrons that were still influential in weakening their cohesion.

The questions that later chapters will attempt to address are as follows: How do the interactions of the logics of patronage and its perception by the current DA-led

executive, cooptation of the solar energy alternative, and the unrelenting quest of residents for a better life and dignity define the kind of camp and states of exception in the governance of Enkanini? How does the prevailing (un)governance of Enkanini position shack settlements and their residents in urban society? Considering the possibility of mobilisation that apparently defied the authority of patrons, what were the framing processes of residents and how did they articulate their frames?

Bond (2012) observed what he called ‘popcorn protests’ that were disorganised and fragmented in townships, which are a different urban category altogether from stand-alone shack settlements. Nonetheless, Bond concluded that the same kind of ‘popcorn protests’ still formed the “basis from which a new era of people power might be built” (ibid: 262) outside the party-electoral politics machine.

An instance of this was how, during my fieldwork and up to the time of writing up my findings, almost all protests from the greater Kayamandi population were waged either by Enkanini or around Enkanini issues and not in relation to Kayamandi itself. I consider the same popcorn events as significant, based on Tilly’s (1964) observation that it is these short-term processes of community mobilisation that shape social movements. Therefore, one must ask what *shaping* can come from the rebellion of shack dwellers exhibited by, among others, feeling ambushed, living under the shadow of ineffective patrons, walking out of meetings to the embarrassment of patrons in the presence of political rivals and questioning the *interfering* ‘interest’ of patrons? What form of political orientation was embedded within these articulations of the ‘novices’? Finally, how do the shack dwellers’ mobilisations interact not only with the political interferences of the KDF, but also with the iShack Project? The next chapter will review relevant literature in search for existing scholarly work that aids the understanding of the realities of Enkanini in the light of these questions.

## CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

### 3.1 An overview of South African urbanisation, informal housing and urban citizenship

The history of urbanisation in South Africa can help to understand present realities around informal residential areas like those evolving in Enkanini. Struggles for dignified living and equitable access to state resources, especially in the urban areas, were pervasive. Although during the colonial and apartheid eras South Africa had a level of urbanisation higher than the average level in sub-Saharan Africa, the state deployed various mechanisms to restrict urbanisation along racial lines (Maylam, 1995; Terreblance, 2002). Those black people who managed to live in urban areas were considered mere 'urban outsiders' (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1985), positioned "lower down the urban order" (Saff, 2001: 91). Ferguson (2013) calls it a 'stunted version' of black urban social membership where blacks who remained in the urban society were 'hangers on' who were 'systematically disadvantaged but never effectively removed from the urban environment' (p.229). The demarcation of the Eiselen Line in the Western Cape in 1955 and its subsequent extension eastwards made black Africans in the Cape Peninsula and surrounds foreigners. The area west of the Eiselen Line was declared a Coloured Labour Preference Area, and permanent black urbanisation was not recognised in this region<sup>32</sup> (Christopher, 2001). The "apartheid dream" (Field, 2001:24) in the Western Cape was to return to the past when "a Native was unknown in the [Cape] Peninsula" (Minister of Native Affairs E.G. Jansen in 1948, cited in Field, 2001:24). However, since industrial growth demanded more labour power than was available, the few impermanent black Africans<sup>33</sup> who could remain were made to reside separately in locations<sup>34</sup> and hostels (Legassick,

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<sup>32</sup> Railway authorities in the Eastern Cape were given powers to stop black Africans from travelling to Cape Town, while employers were made responsible for the transportation back to rural areas of anyone deported from Cape Town (Field, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> Section 10 of the Amended Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act (1952) provided that Africans could only live permanently in the Cape Peninsula if they had continuously lived or worked in the city for 15 years since birth and for 10 years for one employer. After 1965, black Africans had to be returned to the homelands at the end of the contract. Any new job was to be applied for from there as this was meant to interrupt any chance of benefiting from the Section 10 rights (Field, 2001).

<sup>34</sup> These were Langa (established in 1927 after the demolition of Endabeni), Nyanga (1942) and Gugulethu (originally called Nyanga West in 1958, but the name changed to Gugulethu in 1961)

2006). Before democratisation (1994), the living conditions in locations or townships reflected state and private sector housing and basic services that were far below the standards that prevailed in white neighbourhoods. This discrepancy was based on racial classification and the policy of separate development that was chosen over that of equality. The then Minister of Justice, Mr C.R. Swart, stated that amenities in the different segregated areas prescribed in the Group Areas Act were to be separate but not equal because

[i]n our country we have civilized people, we have semi-civilized people and we have uncivilized people. The Government of this country gives each section facilities according to the circumstances of each (*Hansard*, 1953 col. 1054–5, cited in Christopher, 2001:5).

The locations and hostels (housing for single men) were neglected because men living there were considered to be temporarily in the cities “to sell their labour and nothing else” (M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration, cited in Western, 2001:624). While the locations bore the brunt of the apartheid laws and policies, the *pondokkies* or informal settlements in the Western Cape were actually viewed as ‘black spots’ and were demolished (Legassick, 2006) and shack dwellers were put into emergency camps as per the 1952 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. Since migrants managed to circumvent and transgress the Eiselen Line due to dire poverty in the homelands and increasing demands for cheap African labour (Western, 2001), informal settlements became repositories that were often beyond surveillance by the state. Though large informal settlements such as Windermere were demolished, the state could not prevail against the resistance in Crossroads in 1976.

When the influx control mechanisms aimed at preventing black African urbanisation were repealed in 1986, migration of black people (mainly women and children) led to the doubling of the population of Cape Town between 1982 and 1992 (Western, 2001). As a response, the government sought ‘orderly urbanization’ (ibid) through the establishment of Khayelitsha but, in less than a year, this township was inundated with shack settlements. In fact, even before the repealing of influx control, many black Africans risked arrest and their population increased from approximately 70 000 to 250

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(Legassick, 2006); Kayamandi (Stellenbosch) in 1941 and Mfuleni in mid-1960s and 1970s (Rock 2011).



000 between 1960 and 1974 (Field, 2001). Most of these migrants lived in shack settlements (ibid).

In all the controls and persistent rural-urban migration, the city remained “a place par excellence for the realization of the individual” (Le Marcis, 2004:454) and a lure in people’s pursuit of multiple modernities. It is therefore understandable when individuals, households and societies weave their aspirations for a better life within urban contexts. Global statistics indicate that the world population is now predominantly urban (UN-Habitat, 2003a), thus making urbanity “the definitive and majority human condition” (Groenewald, 2007:2). This makes urban centres viable sites for anthropological studies. However, “one of three urban dwellers ... in the world already lives in a slum” (Garau, Sclar and Carrollini, 2005:12). Earlier work (Spiegel, Watson and Wilkinson, 1996; Smit, 1998) described a phenomenon of black South ascribing permanency to their rural homes mainly because of the uncertainty and non-rootedness within the urban economies. In that frame, the rural homes remained repositories of investment for retirement homes and places that had symbols of dignity and ultimate safety nets. As the residents of informal settlements often sustained the phenomenon of the rural as their ‘real’ home, by residing in informal settlements even if they could afford better formal residences, this study takes that choice as being built upon a recognition that it “...is not necessarily a choice but an economic necessity” (Hoogendoorn, 2011:45) that captures the desire of residents of shack settlements and reflects their struggles to connect and weave a better future within the urban realm. The study further explains ways in which shack dwellers struggle for dignity, not by constructing a homestead in a geographically distant rural place, but in their urban living environments.

In South Africa, backyard shacks were added to houses on existing formal stands for rental purposes in overcrowded townships that did not expand spatially and in terms of service provision (Crankshaw, Gilbert and Morris, 2000; Lemanski, 2009). Post-1994 ‘freedoms’ saw a process of deconcentration of households whose dependent members sought their own independent housing in stand-alone shack settlements (Rakodi, 1997; Sapire, 1992). Proximity to employment opportunities was another factor (Kilian, Fiehn, Ball and Howells, 2005) in shack dwellers’ choice of residence. This deconcentration found its spatial manifestation in unregulated or informal settlements that “expanded in size and multiplied in number” (Turok, 2012:21). The

settlements were mainly characterised by state neglect and abandonment in terms of basic service provision (Riley, Ko, Unger and Reis, 2007). This was the case mainly because the enforcement of the Eiselen Line eliminated any need and policy for state housing for black Africans in the Western Cape. Employers were left to provide their own housing, which consisted mostly of hostels, and the increased demand for housing black Africans was therefore addressed, for instance, by increasing the number of hostel beds (Penderis and Van der Merwe, 1994).

A glimpse of the living conditions in hostels and shack settlements reveals the ‘lack’ and ‘inadequacy’ in terms of urban services. Vignettes in Ramphele’s (1993:14) study of hostel dwellers show how a “systematic killing of the pride of the people” evolved from a father, mother and child sharing one level of a tiny hostel bunk bed. The same conditions are traced way back by Hellman (1948) in Rooiyard (Johannesburg) where 235 adults and 141 children lived within a total space of 989 square meters (ibid) – implying a space of only 2.63 square meter per person. The livelihoods of women were built around illegal beer-brewing and selling, which led to jail terms if they could not pay the fines – often women preferred the former to preserve their earnings (ibid).

These differentiated forms of inhabiting the city have persisted for years before and after 1994. In the 1960s some categories of residents living in Langa township (Cape Town) were described as non-urbanised ‘migrants’ (Wilson and Mafeje, 1963), as those whose lives reflected a continuity of rural culture in townships. These so-called ‘tribesmen’ were differentiated not only from the white ‘urban citizens’ but also from their fellow black Africans who were labelled as ‘true’ townsmen (Mayer, 1961; Pauw, 1963; Wilson and Mafeje, 1961) who were ‘urbanised’. Therefore, despite urban areas being concentrations of wealth, opportunities and relatively better living conditions, it has been observed that most of the urban shack settlements have a quality of life that is worse than in rural areas (UN-Habitat, 2003b). Even though South Africa’s current urban population has nearly reached two-thirds of the national population (Turok, 2012), life in the city remains segregated and devoid of ‘human flourishing’ (Graham, 2011) for a number of residents. Informal settlements fall into this category that lacks dignified living conditions, and well after democratisation, their city is ‘yet to come’ (Simone, 2004). For example, in Cape Town informal settlements, there are situations where 78 and 471 people share one toilet and a single water tap respectively (Zibagwe, 2012). In other words, they still seek socio-economic freedom and dignity

(Pithouse, 2007). By 2011, the country had 2 700 informal settlements accommodating 1.2 million households (South African Cities Network, 2011).

Analysis of the housing backlog and its governance in Cape Town shows the cumulative effects of historical legacies of neglect on allocating resources to housing development of black Africans. Post-apartheid housing projects were often disrupted by illegal occupation of vacant plots earmarked for construction of houses for coloured and black communities (Lemanski, 2009; Millstein, 2010) living in informal settlements. It is therefore essential to conceptualise the positionality of informal settlements within the city because historical analyses reveal that the city has always been an 'incorporated' and exclusive entity, accessed through struggles (Isin, 1997; 2002).

Citizenship has been defined as 'an integrative device' (Beauregard and Bounds, 2000), for membership "into a polity" (Gans, 2005:1), or membership "into a political association or community that articulates a relation, not a dichotomy, between structures of power and social lives" (Holston, 2009:2). This notion of membership and relations has been deployed to portray belonging and integration in various processes and contexts of human progress. Urban centres have also been regarded as the true repositories of (and units of analysis in assessing) the wealth of nations (Jacobs, 1984). In addition, cities have also been regarded as the site for contestation about urban belonging (Holston and Appadurai, 1999), and this dates back to ancient history (AlSayyad and Roy, 2006; Bickford, 2000; Isin, 1997, 2008b; McCann, 2002). Membership of a modern society and the notion of citizenship have been prefixed with *urban* (Beauregard and Bounds, 2000; Holston, 2009; Zerah, Lama-Rewal, Dupont and Chaudhuri, 2011) to highlight the significance of urban centres in people's contemporary envisioned forms of progress and modernity.

Urban citizenship is "a citizenship that refers to the city as its public sphere and to right-claims addressing urban practices as its substance – claims concerning residence, neighbourhood life, infrastructure, transportation, consumption, and so forth" (Holston, 2009:12). I have borrowed McCann's (2002:77) contention that urban "citizenship claims are conditioned by the built environment in which they take place" to generate a narrative of urban belonging premised on different types of built environments, since the concept is currently a credible approach "to better reflect the identity and experience of the city's inhabitants" (Plyushteva, 2009:81). I used this

notion to capture the nature of informal settlements' 'insertion into urban life' (Pieterse, 2009). This is significant given the negative attitude towards these settlements in both apartheid (Maylam, 1995; Swanson, 1977) and postapartheid South Africa (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Simone, 2007).

The chapter will present scholarly work that aids the understanding of the empirical data from Enkanini on how shack dwellers have articulated their counter-responses to the state's abandonment and palliative interventions, including state responses to the slum challenge. As a point of departure, I investigate the disposition of the neoliberal state towards informal settlements as a tendency and inclination to abandon as the worst option and a tendency towards aestheticisation if there are any interventions at all. Bond's (2012) work on fragmented 'people power' in South Africa arouses curiosity and invites scholarly interest in the potency of this people power to engage the local state as a way of asserting shack dwellers' presence in the city and to disrupt processes of abandonment.

### **3.2 Tracing Enkanini from the history of Kayamandi**

Explaining the genesis of Enkanini as described in Chapter 2 has to start from an understanding of Kayamandi Township because the former evolved as an overspill of population from the overcrowded latter. A brief history of Kayamandi brings out the chronic and structural neglect and its impact on present housing challenges that black people face in Stellenbosch.

Kayamandi was formally established in 1941 after more than two decades of reflections by the municipality on housing the black population. The context of those 'reflections' relates to 'space surgeries' (Pirie, 1984) on urban centres along the lines of race in pre-democratic South Africa. Before the intensified manifestation of this policy countrywide in the form of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, which brought "total residential apartheid" (ibid: 207), racial segregation had already been institutionalised. The Western Cape experienced far stricter versions of these segregations when the state reacted to increasing migration by and presence of black people who were attracted by growing employment opportunities.

Racial prejudice was disguised by the ‘sanitation syndrome’ (Swanson, 1977), whereby black settlements were associated with “moral panic ... squalor, disease and crime” (Maylam, 1995:24). The starting point was the February 1901 outbreak of the bubonic plague in Cape Town, linked to infected rats. Patients of different races, but more of them non-black, were quarantined in an isolation area on Uitvlugt farm and nearby the first location, called Ndabeni, close to the current Maitland area. This location became overcrowded and was neglected in terms of services and decent housing, leading to the large number of fatalities during the 1918/19 influenza outbreak (Cuthbertson, 1979). In response, the public health concerns and panic within the city<sup>35</sup> “...powerfully interacted with British and South African racial attitudes to influence the policies and shape the institutions of segregation” (Swanson, 1977:387). As the slum conditions were blamed for augmenting the spread of diseases, the city authorities promulgated the Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923, and as a result of the subsequent forced removals of black people from Ndabeni to Langa in 1927–1936, the city was ‘cleansed’ (Coetzer, 2009).

In Stellenbosch, this panic influenced the agitation of white residents and the municipality when an informal settlement of black people was formed around Adam Tas Road. After writing to the Provincial Secretary in February 1918 on how to establish a ‘native location’, the town clerk of Stellenbosch Municipality was given strict public health prescriptions to follow (Rock, 2011). The municipality did not take responsibility for financing the initiative but asked factories that were dependant on black labour to build huts, each to accommodate a maximum of eight occupants. The factories built seven huts in 1925 on an allocated area outside the town centre (Du Toit Station) to accommodate a population that was estimated then to be between 100 and 200 (ibid). A visit and inspection by the national Inspector of Native Locations in 1938 uncovered gross overcrowding and squalor. The recommendations from the inspection led to the establishment of Kayamandi in 1941,<sup>36</sup> two miles outside the town (ibid). Economically, the location was strategic because it was “*within half a mile of Du Toit station in which locality the K.W.V. and other firms operate and commonage has*

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<sup>35</sup> And “its proximity to the proposed new [‘whites-only’] Garden City [of Pinelands]” (Coetzer, 2009:5) exacerbated the panic.

<sup>36</sup> Residents had also presented the Removal of Native Location or ‘Black Peril’ Petition, fearing rape of white women by black men, theft of fruit and poultry on surrounding farms and coloured people selling alcohol to black people (Rock, 2011).

*been earmarked for industrial sites*" (C.W. Slarke, Inspector of Native Locations, 4 August 1938, cited in Rock, 2011:29, emphasis in the original).

Between 1944 and 1948, 115 houses were built with a clear inclination for non-family structures for a population of 1 920 (Rock, 2011). However, this process of municipal development of housing for natives was halted when a self-imposed quota system was enforced by the municipality in 1955, limiting the number of black people in Stellenbosch to 1 700. When the Kayamandi population was already 2 348 in 1956, a number of nonworking or 'unnecessary' natives were forcibly removed and taken to the Ciskei and Transkei<sup>37</sup> after the recommendation of the Olivier Commission<sup>38</sup> that concluded that black urbanisation should be reversed.<sup>39</sup> This was catalysed by legislation<sup>40</sup> that aimed to prevent blacks from entering urban areas, from finding employment and from permanent residence in the Cape Peninsula.

With increasing demand for native labour in industries in Stellenbosch, a consortium of the nine largest employers of black labour constructed 38 prefabricated hostels in 1966 (Penderis and Van der Merwe, 1994). When this proved inadequate, the municipality abolished the quota system in 1970 and in 1971 it built 12 more hostels and installed many more bunk beds in already overcrowded hostels (Rock, 2011).

Through the formation of the Kayamandi Town Council in 1983, Kayamandi was separated from the Stellenbosch municipal area. The formation of Kayamandi Town Council did not improve the housing shortage as Kayamandi inherited a huge housing problem and the Stellenbosch Municipal Council did not make any plans or commit resources to supporting the expansion of housing. Even before the abolition of the influx laws (in 1986), rural-urban migration was high and included many women and children. The population of Kayamandi expanded without social services being increased, leading to the spill-over of shacks to adjacent open spaces.

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<sup>37</sup> Especially women so as to preempt natural black population growth.

<sup>38</sup> Headed by University of Stellenbosch professors P.J. Olivier and J. Sadie (ibid).

<sup>39</sup> Stellenbosch Town was the citadel of an apartheid think tank that pushed for total apartheid as it hosted the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA).

<sup>40</sup> *Inter alia*, the Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951, the Bantu/Native Building Workers Act No. 27 of 1951, the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 54 of 1952, the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952 and the Bantu Homelands Citizens Act No. 26 of 1970.

In 1994, Kayamandi was re-incorporated into the Stellenbosch municipal area. As a formal but small housing expansion commenced in 2005, a number of open spaces were already covered by shacks. Penderis and Van der Merwe (1994) give evidence that the majority of hostel dwellers preferred a shack to overcrowded hostels. Though the 2011 census indicated that the population of Kayamandi was 24 645, this has been challenged as being speculative and underestimated (Rock, 2011). With a geographical area of 75 hectares, 70% of houses in the township are informal (Roux and Siclair, 2011). Shacks multiplied in Kayamandi due to the overcrowding in formally constructed housing as well as the trend to flee from backyard renting on the stands of formal houses (Smit, 2006). Some shack owners were actually evicted by these backyard landlords for failing to pay their rent (ibid).

The formal residences in the greater part of Kayamandi Township were built according to the PSBO pathway both during and in the post-apartheid eras. This means that the land designated for residential purposes was subdivided according to detailed spatial layout plans with boundaries for each plot. Infrastructure services such as water, roads and electricity were provided at different points in the history of Kayamandi and it was ensured that, under the PSBO process, each plot had access to those services. When the construction of houses on all the plots was completed and the municipality had certified their readiness for occupancy, residents then occupied those neighbourhoods. The designation or zoning, provision of infrastructure, approval of building plans, inspection of the construction process and authorisation of occupancy confirmed that the formal settlements were produced in compliance with municipal by-laws. This illustrates the institutional and social engineering process of urban planning that prescribed the processes of accessing land, housing and urban services.

In contrast, Enkanini evolved through a process that was a direct reversal of the PSBO sequence. In such an opposing spatial form that ruptures the established order of spatial organisation of inhabiting urban space, the access to land, housing and services becomes part of contentious politics. In conventional processes shaping the urban built environment, access to housing and services is interwoven more with technical issues, public health and other provisions for human needs.



### 3.3 Informal settlement as a ‘camp’

When Enkanini residents were told their area is a nature reserve, among other reasons given by the municipality for not addressing their demands, how was their settlement positioned within the urban economy of Stellenbosch? This question of positionality emanates from several ways in which informal settlements in general and Enkanini in particular has been represented. Examples of how Enkanini was positioned include media reports on iShack; issues of indignity raised by residents; sediments of reasons put forward by the municipality (which ultimately meant non-response) as a response to the demands of Enkanini residents.

What is the positionality of informal settlements in the urban realm? According to Anthias (2008), positionality defines a state of belonging. In order to understand the positionality of informal settlements in the urban economy, I made use of Anthias’s argument that belonging resides in or is premised upon “the notions of exclusion, inclusion, access and participation” (2008:8). Slums have been defined in “habitat vocabulary” (Gilbert, 2007:697) that is dominated by ‘lack’ and ‘inadequacy’. This is reflected in slum definitions by UN-Habitat, among many other actors. Slums are said to be characterised by ‘a lack of’ or ‘inadequate’ access to improved water and sanitation, secure tenure, sufficient living area and durable housing (UN-Habitat, 2002). This definition has been criticised by Gilbert (2007) for failing to recognise heterogeneity in the settlements, with consequences leading to physical solutions such as slum demolitions, mobilisations of shack dwellers, protests and state responses such as slum upgrading<sup>41</sup>, which are based on this rhetoric of lack and inadequacy. In spite of Gilbert’s insistence that positive images can emerge from the category of slums, the ever-increasing scale of such living conditions globally still merit scholarly attention. This is particularly significant in post-apartheid South Africa and more specifically in the Western Cape Province. The post-apartheid era pivots on constitutionalism that elevates human dignity and socio-economic rights. The Western Cape Sustainable Human Settlement Strategy has a isiXhosa title *Isidima* (lit: virtue;

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<sup>41</sup> Specifically, slum upgrading ‘consists, at its simplest, of a package that improves the basic services such as clean water supply, sanitation, sewage disposal, garbage collection, electricity, etc, up to a satisfactory standard. Further actions include legalization and regularization of property rights, also called providing security of tenure’ (Arcila, 2008:27).

respect; dignity), which refers to 'enabling dignified communities'. Hence, improvement of the material conditions under which people live is central to housing policy, citizen action and research.

According to Pithouse (2010), in South African slums and globally, the protests of informal settlement residents are centred on substantive citizenship, that is, lack of "the material benefits of full social inclusion in the material and spatial senses as well as the right to be taken seriously when thinking and speaking through community organisations" (Pithouse, 2010:37). While this discourse of 'inadequacy' is exploited by policy makers and international institutions to secure funding (Gilbert, 2007) for slum improvement interventions, avoiding or dropping it is also seen by political economists as a betrayal of the urban poor (Pierterse, 2009). Research by Perlman (1976) on the myth and reality of 'marginality' of informal settlement dwellers in Brazil concluded that the *favelados* (Portuguese word for shack dwellers) were not marginal to the society that they lived in but were very much 'integrated into it', though in an asymmetrical manner. Perlman maintained that their marginalisation was a myth. The asymmetry of their integration lay in the fact that the *favelados* worked hard on jobs that were abhorrent to the elite and that they were loyal to the urban system but did "not benefit from the goods and services of the system" (1976:195). This perspective led to alternative terms such as 'exclusion', 'inequality', 'social injustice', 'human rights' and 'citizenship'. Interestingly, in a further study of the same *favelados* more than 30 years later, Perlman (2007:7) concluded that "marginalization of the urban poor has become *less of a myth* and *more of a reality* over the past 35 years, despite improvements in living conditions". One of her major findings in this later research was that despite democratic improvements and slum upgrading interventions, "favela residents are not treated as '*gente*' (people) and feel increasingly distant from becoming so" (ibid: 7). Moreover, as Arroyo (2011) argues, 'social and physical deficits' in informal settlements render their urbanity elusive.

The philosophical metaphors that have recently been used to describe the positionality of slum dwellers and the state's governance over them are those of the 'camp' and 'state of exception', as articulated by Giorgio Agamben (2005) and elaborated by others (AlSayyad and Roy, 2006; Appadurai, 2013; Kamete, 2013; Murray, 2008; Walsh, 2009). Camp is a metaphor for modern political spaces where mass populations are governed without full rights and legal protection. According to

Agamben (2005), camps emerge and are governed through states of exception when the sovereign power suspends the norms that facilitate the flourishing of life in the city, resulting in the tendency to 'let live and let die'. AlSayyad and Roy (2006) describe informal settlements as forms of the camp. They argue that informal settlements constitute "...a space of 'no law', a subject that is 'bare life', and a state that combines control with care, death with life" (ibid: 13). The space of no law is represented by nonregulation of activities in informal settlements. Bare or raw life refers to "mere physical existence whose precariousness is vulnerable to the whim of either state power or even the hostility of their neighbours who may decide that their very existence could prove to be inconvenient or undesirable" (Colatrella, 2011:100–101). This description of bare life is based on Agamben's (2005) use of the ancient Roman category of *homo sacer* to illustrate constitutive exclusion or the playing out of the sovereign power in the modern era. The ancient figure of *homo sacer* was the object of a severe Roman penalty based on the *sacer esto*, a curse on a person. Such a person was dealt with through the suspension of legal protection and could be killed with impunity by anyone.

Suspension of legal provisions created state(s) of exception that allowed the sovereign power to violate its own norms without being subjected or accountable to the same norms. From this, Agamben (2005) discerns modern social categories that are stripped of legal protection, governed through exceptions and confined to zones of indistinction. These zones illustrate inclusive exclusion, that is, the inclusion of informal settlements in the formal urban realm by excluding them from its vitality and other privileges that enhance human flourishing. Isin and Rygiel (2007) define 'camps of our times' as 'abject spaces', that is,

spaces in which the intention is to treat people neither as subjects (of discipline) nor objects (of elimination) but as those without presence, without existence, as inexistent beings, not because they don't exist, but because their existence is rendered invisible and inaudible through abject spaces (ibid: 184).

This section gives a theoretical description of urban informal settlements and their residents as urban categories that are currently being tolerated but not eliminated, while at the same time their residents are denied care from the state's pastoral or beneficent power (Golder, 2007; Kamete, 2012, 2013; Mayes, 2010). The beneficent power of the state is exhibited in the biopolitics of care where populations' lives and

livelihoods are enabled through social interventions in housing, healthcare and education. Kamete (2012; 2013) argues that this pastoral care is deployed towards legitimated human settlements while informal settlements only receive deployment of sovereign power in the form of slum clearance and evictions. Since this study argues that there are several ‘tolerated’ informal settlements that are not threatened by eviction or demolition, there is a need to focus on ‘slow violence’ (Nixon, 2011) or inattention to these tolerated informal settlements. Mayes (2010) calls this the violent side of care.

Yiftachel’s (2009) work has applied the state of exception concept to the positionality of the urban poor in the urban realm. His observation about ‘creeping urban apartheid’ uses Agamben’s theorisation to highlight informal settlements as zones of indistinction or ‘gray spaces’. These gray spaces are located between the “‘whiteness’ of legality/approval/safety, and the ‘blackness’ of eviction/destruction/death” (Yiftachel, 2009:88). They are political geographies of urban informalities whose integration into the city or citizenship is,

... stratified and essentialized, creating a range of unequal urban citizenship(s)... which accord unequal ‘packages’ of rights and capabilities to the various groups, as well as fortify the *separation* between them’.... These partially incorporated people, localities and activities are part of a growing urban informality ... [that] ... are neither integrated nor eliminated, forming pseudo-permanent margins of today’s urban regions.... (ibid: 93–94, 89, emphasis in the original).

Using the example, among others, of resistance by the ‘Eighth Street’ community (Cape Town) to eviction from the site that they had occupied and resided in for several years, Yiftachel (2009) highlights the fact that “marginalized gray spaces and populations are never merely passive victims in the process of urbanization” (ibid: 96).

The discourse of the camp is relevant in the study of informal settlements but needs to be elaborated on with regard to how shack dwellers seek to construct their citizenship from the seeming geographies of despair. Previously, Butler (2004) compared ‘bare life’ to a state of “suspended life and suspended death” (67) in which subjects are rendered naked after being stripped of their rights and relegated to a biological minimum. This biological minimum prevents death while at the same time it does not foster life. This theoretical description captures the condition of informal

settlements not only as being threatened by eviction but also as being tolerated and abandoned. It is also necessary that this view of bare life be contextualised within the hopes of the abject, whose fate and improvement in living conditions depend on the same state that abandons. This hope is usually accompanied by sporadic acts of resistance and activism.

Agamben's concept of a camp and its utilisation by other authors referred to earlier helps to analytically engage with the realities of Enkanini. How do we engage with the 'successful' litigation process where the court order is not implemented for several years and is furthermore also evoked in later years to question the legitimate existence of Enkanini? The repeated claims for better or dignified living conditions that are dismissed by the municipality and the local state's argument of the impossibility of improving the settlement fosters the formation of zones of indistinction that later chapters will unpack. The concept of the camp also aids the analysis of the meaning of maintaining the status quo at Enkanini. The arguments of residents against indignity and the results of enumeration that do not evoke any state response seem to sustain the existing conditions of bare life while aspirations of residents mirror the imagined flourishing of urban living.

Fiona Ross's (2010) *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, Housing and Everyday Life in a Post-Apartheid Community* is an anthropological work that presents the quest for decency among the urban poor in Cape Town, South Africa. She traces the genealogy of the raw life of her subjects, currently living in a planned neighbourhood, back to their prior life in the informal settlement where their families, work, stability and residence were eroded. Her narrative depicts life in the informal settlement (the Park) as, on one hand, corrosive of social respectability and decency; and, on the other, generative of mutually supportive cooperative social relationships among residents. One of the 'core' issue of indecency was the absence of toilets and the use of the bush for ablutions. This 'ugly context' was also worsened by uncollected garbage which blighted the settlement – and this brought with it pejorative labels and stereotypes from relatives and neighbours in formal suburbs who labelled them as throw-away, discardable and surplus humans.

This kind of narrative of indecency is critical for understanding the perception of conditions in Enkanini which relate to non-connection to the grid and the presence of toilets that were only accessible during the day, due to night time darkness. The situation of abandonment of Enkanini, as was the case of The Park/Bush before relocation to the Village (formal residences), was sustained by a perception of the provisional existence of informal settlements. Even the provision of formal housing in the Park, while providing a veneer or facade of improvement, did not change the socio-economic structural conditions of poverty. Moreover, Ross argues that through creating that facade and through some local people linking it to a notion of propriety (*ordentlikheid*), it undermined the kinds of social-cohesion relationships that residents had constructed for mutual support whilst living in the Bush.

Current official attitudes that informal settlements are temporary phenomena (Chand and Yala, 2008), often lead to state neglect. Often squatter settlements are made temporary by demolition and relocation of settlers. This study focuses on a non-demolished settlement that, however, was treated as temporary.

The attitude of temporality in contexts of nondemolition breeds abandonment. The reading of informal settlements as a temporary phenomenon without acknowledgement of tendencies of nondemolition can lead to the revanchist<sup>42</sup> interpretation of the slum upgrading policy, which leans towards the eradication of slums in the long term (Huchzermeyer, 2011). This perspective of temporality and eradication has been criticised for considering informal settlements as havens for dangerous classes (Pithouse, 2012a) that ought to be eradicated in order to enhance safety. There is a need for interpretations of how the rhetoric of temporality and contexts of nondemolition not only sustain the perception of informal settlements into camps but also institutionalise persistent urban apartheid, neglect and abandonment. Given the relatively long time (if ever) that it takes for shack dwellers to be provided with a formal house in South Africa (Bolnick and Bradlow, 2010; Department of Energy, 2011), their residence in informal settlements constitutes a story that needs to be narrated in terms of their cumulative membership in the urban economy *in situ*. The story is embodied within the different moments in the evolution of informal

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<sup>42</sup> Revanchism, in the context of slum intervention, refers to 'vengeful' tactics of regaining urban spaces currently occupied by the urban poor through various guises such as gentrification, urban renewal or redevelopment (Smith, 2001; MacLeod, 2002).

settlements as well as in their claims for denied services such as electricity and expansion of the currently inadequate water and sanitation services. A genealogical approach is very fruitful in this instance to explain episodes in the trajectories of informal settlement development in which shack dwellers are incorporated and incorporate themselves. This incorporation needs to be understood as a way of engaging with the salient exclusionary processes and to encroach on the red lines imposed by the municipalities. The next section (3.4) reviews the way in which these engagements have been explained in the existing literature.

### **3.4 State's reponse to the shack dwellers' mobilisations and growing slum challenge**

Given the evidence of ever-increasing global slum challenge alongside slum upgrading efforts, much state response to the 'slum problem' can be summarised as abandonment or neglect and aestheticisation. Aestheticisation comes in the form of palliative upgrading or settlement improvement initiatives that tend nonetheless to leave structural inequalities intact. Recognising the character of these responses aid us in understanding the governmentality of Enkanini by the Stellenbosch municipality. Just as informal settlements tend to be served or managed through states of exception and service provision that reflects neglect (Riley *et al.*, 2007), so did the municipality treat Enkanini and its residents. Such neglect stems from an inherent feature of informal settlements, namely that they evolve outside a PSBO framework. This framework is the basis for official state service reticulation and public service planning and budgeting. Moreover, as Berner and Phillips (2005) argue, shack settlements are often 'left to their own devices' as a result of the overrated merits of self-help. Ghertner's (2011) research in India describes the 'rule by aesthetics' of municipalities, according to which blatant violations of spatial laws by large real estate development projects, such as shopping malls, are considered by courts as 'planned' given that professionals were involved (in the illegality) as well as the project's potential to beautify and position Delhi as a world city. Conversely, Delhi's shack settlements, on land designated for residential development and having the potential to be upgraded, are declared to be unplanned and a nuisance to the neighbouring middle-class residential area.



Kamete (2012; 2013) extends Ghertner's (2011) 'rule by aesthetics' lens by showing that the state's sovereign power and states of exception in southern Africa are deployed positively and negatively to the better off and the poor respectively. An example is given of the government of Zimbabwe's 'Operation *Murambatsvina* (Clean/Remove Filth)' whereby all structures not authorised by municipalities were razed to the ground in 2005. In the end, "700,000 people (nearly 6 percent of the [country's] total population) lost their homes, livelihood, or both, as a result of the evictions, while 2.4 million people were either directly or indirectly affected by Operation *Murambatsvina*" (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012:191). The armed power of the sovereign was demonstrated through the destruction of 'illegal' structures, while 'pastoral power' by the same sovereign was shown towards similar illegal structures located in rich suburbs. The divergence and differential treatment were obvious when the same enforcement agents stopped their demolition as they approached rich suburbs. The rationale was based on aesthetics. It was argued that those in the rich suburbs have the potential to improve their structures in order to meet municipal standards (Kamete, 2013). From these observations, the state's approach, in southern Africa in general and South Africa in particular, is often understood as that of revanchism and gross non-/underprovision of public services to existing informal settlements. However, this study sought to underscore the manner in which revanchism is often non physical as several informal settlements are neither demolished nor adequately served with services.

Lastly, the whole discourse of *in situ* upgrading seems to have been appropriated by various actors who ultimately use the slum discourse for their own purposes, resulting in narrative closures that speak *for* and not *with* the shack dwellers. I define this by borrowing McGranahan's (2010) concept of 'narrative dispossession' whereby narratives are understood as being fraught with power. It is therefore essential that a slum narrative explains how shack dwellers situate themselves while being situated by other actors in the slum discourse. Walsh's (2008) auto-critique based on her collaboration with the Durban-based AbM gives a preliminary understanding of narrative dispossession. Her work reveals the problematic collaborations between researchers and slum dwellers. She shows how the former used their unequal power relations with slum dwellers to degrade the terrain and immobilise the poor by disrupting and contesting the poor's "discourses of empowerment and intervention"

(ibid: 82). For instance, Walsh indicates that ‘early on in AbM’s struggle, the main issues were identified as land and housing’ (Walsh, 2008: 80), which constitute a great stake in the city (Bozzoli, 1996). However, the slogan of land and housing changed to embrace ‘gaining voice’ “due in part perhaps because the core cadre of activists have seen a fair amount of media coverage garnered in part by the influence of academics and middle-class activists using media savvy and connections” (ibid: 80). This in turn often leads to therapeutic citizenships (Nguyen, 2004). These therapeutic citizenships, derived from HIV/AIDS treatment discourses, relate to the poor adopting specific practices and identities that make them deserving targets for or beneficiaries of therapeutic resources. Nguyen argues that through “confessional technologies, self-help strategies, and access to drugs” (ibid: 127), humanitarian agencies have produced particular subjects who become legitimate claimants to treatment based on their biomedical conditions. Walsh’s (2008) work illustrates how housing researchers and activists have transformed shack dwellers into therapeutic citizens. This emerges when researchers-*cum*-activists transform the original claims made by shack dwellers, such as demand for land and housing, into other ‘fashionable’ claims that will position them as worthy recipients of assistance.

State responses and non-responses also reflect much about the capacity to provide. Redfield (2012) observes innovative humanitarian designs for care goods and services for populations that are beyond the reach of state infrastructure. Some population categories, like informal settlement residents, may be victims or subjects of ‘infrastructural bypass’ and ‘biopolitical neglect’ (Selmeczi 2010). In such contexts, Redfield (2012) explains, the ‘alchemy of innovative design’ (p158) by social enterprises is supported by big philanthropic organizations to anticipate state failure and respond to the minimalist forms of state care. The rationale of these humanitarian designs is built around the ethics of sustaining life and ecological concerns, resolute realistic solutions ‘seeking minor improvements in a landscape deeply driven by want’ (p159). Redfield’s work is very relevant in the design of iShack where shack dwellers have been ‘patients of the state’ (Auyero 2011) and where the urban poor in South Africa have opted to build shacks instead of waiting for twenty years to benefit from state housing provision.

Within this period of waiting, there is growing impatience that fuels insurgent forms of citizenship as well as alchemic designs for energy supply, water and sanitation

provision. Wild (2015) locates the value of iShack within this waiting period. Redfield and Robins (2015) contrast the technical fixes of the innovative and alternative sanitation design for the urban poor in Khayelitsha (Cape Town, South Africa) with the efforts of residents to make conventional and modern infrastructure and services accessible to the poor. This work by Redfield and Robins builds on similar research by Penner (2010) on Urine Diversion toilets in the peri-urban areas of Durban (South Africa). Though this innovative and ecologically sound sanitation design option was technically laudable, users perceived it as second rate and aspired to be provided with sanitation systems that are similar to those in the privileged classes' neighbourhoods. The constant in these analyses is that infrastructure and services in urban South Africa remain strong symbols of belonging and platforms, where social differentiation remains inscribed and contested (Penner 2010).

Von Schnitzler (2013; 2014; 2015) also brings out an anthropological engagement with infrastructure, focused on the urban poor's performative acts of framing their indignity and the state's obligation to respond in the techno-politics of water and electricity pre-payment metres in the South African context of cost recovery. Activists and Soweto residents raised moral arguments and resisted water pre-payment metres – meant to foster cost recovery and demand management. They reportedly argued that the minimum quantities of water beyond which payment would be required was below the quantities required to sustain dignified living. Though their legal case was eventually unsuccessful, Soweto residents pointed out forms of suffering that the water pre-payment metres were insensitive to: the bodily injury and shame of water cuts in households that are relatively large, have chronically ill family members requiring frequent water use and community events such as funeral gatherings that could not be sustained without sufficient water.

Von Schnitzler's work on electricity cuts augmented by pre-payment metres and resultant informal reconnections shows how the urban poor who are not even consulted – as they are deemed to be uneducated – propelled successive generations of innovations in prepayment technology in South Africa. Beyond the technical preoccupations with addressing tampering with metres, Von Schnitzler also reveals the other salient intention of engineers who sought, in the face of anti-apartheid struggles that had been built around fiscal disobedience that included payment boycotts, to use electricity prepayment metres to depoliticize electricity. . Von

Schnitzler's analysis resonates well with struggles of Enkanini residents to access electricity and efforts of Stellenbosch municipality to handle the politicization of electricity.

The main state's response that has a potential to vitally connect informal settlements to infrastructure and services is in-situ improvement as spelt out in the BNG. However, given that the central state's BNG policy implementation is grossly underfunded (Franklin, 2012), the realisation of *in situ* upgrading becomes elusive. What is less understood in this context is the ongoing activities at local level that are branded as slum upgrading but are not related to BNG. There is need for an understanding of how the multiplicity of slum upgrading activities at local level brings an interpretive order of slum upgrading. The interpretive order emanates from a reality of non-BNG policy implementation that is replaced by myriads of interventions that actors claim advance the agenda of improving the lives of shack dwellers. It then becomes crucial to trace and explain the meaning of slum upgrading not necessarily from the policy script but from the interpretations of the discourses and practices unfolding in the everyday contexts of informal settlements. This study was interested in shack dwellers situating themselves among a 'new corps' of change makers and upgrading (c.f. Yahya, 2007) in Enkanini. The new corps in Enkanini also claimed to support the state's efforts in slum upgrading. This new corps was viewed in this study as bringing on board its own discourses that needed to be interrogated against shack dwellers' desires.

The multiple discourses of the new corps need to be understood with the concept of the camp. The concept of the camp introduced by Agamben and others and as applied to the case of state responses and nonresponses to Enkanini issues, mirrors the way informal settlements are discursively created and managed by urban authorities. Evidence of non-action all the way from the time the court issued an order for the relocation of the settlement at Enkanini up to the present discourses of the municipality shows tendencies of letting problems foment without addressing the structural inequalities regarding access to services. The only visible action often became that of a response to protests and the threats and possibilities of property damage. Instead of responding to the substantive demands from Enkanini residents, the political perception and suspicion the municipality had on the authenticity of their voice resonates well with the aforementioned view that informal settlements are havens of dangerous classes. This view then attracts the sovereign form of power and its heavy

policing as opposed to any pastoral care and beneficent power of the same state. Where residents of informal settlements mobilise, whether through mediation of patrons or autonomously, as the story of Enkanini reveals, the strategy of the local state is to diffuse the mobilisation and/or divert their demands to humanitarian solutions provided by non-state actors.

### 3.5 Patronage and resource distribution

Robins (2008) criticises civil society's negative attitude towards clientelistic relationship by arguing that the poor in South Africa stand to lose much if they abandon these vertical relationships. Robins (2008) argues that the case of the SAHPF split<sup>43</sup> was symptomatic of the difficulties in transplanting the SDI philosophy and successes from Asia to South Africa. The SDI philosophy projects the 'ideals of the emancipatory liberal mind' (Ferguson 2013). The inherent issue of patronage in the SAHPF is well captured by Wilson and Lowery's (2003) account of the 1991 conclave in Broederstroom. From the outset, the meeting was mobilised by an NGO and such unequal relationships between shack dwellers and civil society groups have been criticised for being professionalised and dominated by the interests of middle-class groups (Chatterjee, 2004; Robins, 2008). The NGO pushed the idea for shack dwellers to pursue self-help instead of waiting and relying on the state. When this idea was put to vote, only 55% supported it while 45% argued that the "ANC [would] give them the housing they needed" (Wilson and Lowery 2003:52). It is therefore more an act of scholarly artifice and a problematic representation for SDI-affiliated shack settlements to be broadly portrayed according to horizontal relationships and asserting self-help. Patronage still plays an important role in the mobilisation of shack dwellers in South Africa. Guy's (1998) work on clientelism sheds light on the misunderstanding and consequent condemnation of the role of these vertical clientelistic relationships by highlighting their obscured "positive and largely unheralded role" (7). Clientelism is

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<sup>43</sup> Despite the SAHPF's post-1994 success in harnessing subsidies and housing land, this women-dominated movement faced a crisis moment when it split after its 2003 leadership elections, due to the undemocratic tendencies of the Victoria Mxenge leadership in Philippi (Cape Town) (Robins, 2008). The SAHPF was illustrative of coopted and tamed 'people power' that, for example, used its structures for ANC business (Robins, 2008). After the split, the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) emerged in 2006 and espoused the SDI philosophy of responsabilising, lobbying or 'hooking up' the state to meet the needs of the mobilised grassroots of urban poor (ibid). FEDUP and SDI *partner* with the local state to visibilise the true plight of the urban poor and meticulously avoid embracing a (radical) rights-based approach or confrontational politics (ibid).

characterised by “pyramidal networks constituted by asymmetrical, reciprocal, and face-to-face relationships” (Auyero *et al.*, 2009:3). These relationships have been seen as ‘problem-solving networks’ (Auyero, 1999, 2000; Szwarcberg, 2012) for the urban poor in informal settlements despite being demonised as being undemocratic and retrogressive (De Wit and Berner, 2009; Ndletyana, Makhalemele and Mathekga, 2013). In the contexts of scarce and diminishing employment opportunities, and the rising unconditional social protection programmes provided by the South African government, which is also viewed as being a neoliberal state, the emerging distributive practices and distributive politics (Ferguson 2013) bring out dependencies and political possibilities that are relevant to the genealogy of Enkanini. The political possibilities that Ferguson’s work investigates are useful in this study in understanding the relations Enkanini residents forged with ANC politicians that were in power from 2009 as well as new direct relations they seemed to pursue with the current DA municipality leadership. The transition from the ANC-led to a DA-led municipality brought along disruptions of the patrons’ grip on the local distributive authority. Gourevitch’s (1986) work was used in Chapter 2 to illuminate the dynamics of patronage in the Enkanini residents’ search for new relationships that have a capacity to provide resources through attempts to ‘suspend’ historical relations with out-of-power patrons. I deliberately use ‘suspend’ instead of ‘sever’ to reflect the pragmatism of shack dwellers as they work over resource distribution with whoever is in power.

Auyero’s (1999; 2000) ethnographies of such relationships in South American informal settlements bring out the role of patrons (mostly politicians, either elected or aspiring electoral candidates), clients (slum dwellers) and brokers (community leaders who link patrons and clients). Later research on clientelism in informal settlements builds on the instrumental role of clientelism in resource mobilisation and distribution but highlights contentious politics emanating from the dynamics among those in power (Auyero *et al.*, 2009) and slum dwellers’ contradictory perceptions of brokers and patrons (Koster, 2012). Patrons change and reciprocal relationships or problem-solving networks break down when, for example, councillors lose elections and/or their power to leverage local resource distribution. New politicians seek to build their own relationships, while residents pursue new relationships as per the changing political opportunity structures (Holzner, 2004). Álvarez-Rivadulla (2012) illustrates how community leaders in informal settlements in Montevideo (Uruguay) gained their right



to the city by forging multiple opportunistic and face-to-face relationships with politicians within and across political parties to secure state goods. These are some blind spots that are ignored in South Africa.

Auyero (2009) and Auyero *et al.* (2009) identified a 'clandestine dimension of politics' mediated around clandestine support and network breakdown in Argentina. This involves cases of violence that are clandestinely well orchestrated by community leaders in connivance with the police and senior politicians to bring chaos and to resist reforms proposed by new elected leaders. The authors name this phenomenon 'patron certification'. This refers to conduct by shack dwellers that is openly criminal but ignored and protected by the law enforcement agents and politicians respectively.

Such clandestine manoeuvres have been highlighted in the AbM discourse, in which the shack dwellers, as victims of police harassment, were arrested as a way to demonstrate the ANC's abhorrence of oppositional views (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2012). In this case, the clandestine manoeuvres between the police and the ANC politicians were organised to fight shack dwellers. This phenomenon as well as that of vote bank politics is still underdeveloped in South Africa's urban anthropology of informal settlements. Such clandestine manoeuvres need to be understood both in situations where patrons and clients collude as well as in moments when these networks break down. Ferguson (2013) illuminates the enduring inclinations by the poor, in Southern Africa, towards sustaining vertical relations 'that are central to the structures of distribution' (p.236) and the role of these relations in opening up plural opportunities for social membership.

What is missing from current understanding of shack dwellers' mobilisations in South Africa is the benevolent role of patronage at certain moments. This role needs to be understood within specific moments in the genealogy of shack settlements to explain the nature of relationships when patrons are out of power and influence. While associational autonomy, emphasised by Appadurai (2002a) and Álvarez-Rivadulla (2012), occurs in multi-actor contexts, the situation is different in the usual bipolar electoral politics prevailing in South African contexts such as in Stellenbosch where relationships with politicians across political parties are rare. The leftist academics collaborating with AbM create or 'brand' (Böhmke, 2010) a narrative of shack dwellers' mobilisation that is tailored to represent a cross-section of South African shack



dwellers. The genealogical approach to understanding dynamic relationships within the mobilisations of shack dwellers is also crucial to elaborate the extent of shack dwellers' 'autonomy' to choose whom to work with. Whom do shack dwellers work with in bipolar contexts such as that of Stellenbosch? The recent work by Robins (2014) in Khayelitsha on toilet wars brings out a blended civil society role that does not necessarily stimulate partnership with the state as in the SDI model but actually exposed the City of Cape Town for neglecting the undignified daily experiences of residents in RR Section informal settlement (Khayelitsha, Cape Town). The DA-led city administration interpreted this critique as politically motivated manoeuvres in the ANC's quest to take over the Cape (Zille, 2014).

The current understanding of shack dwellers' collaborations with NGOs and academics is also inadequate in explaining claim making and construction of citizenship when NGOs not only shy away from politically charged communities but also use discourses competing with those of academics. Dominant academics in the shack dwellers' struggle for dignified living are often leftists who articulate an ideology in shack settlements that needs substance, such as water, sanitation and electricity, instead of abstraction. The case of Enkanini and the SI, as in similar settlements, presents 'collaboration' between shack dwellers and academics that does not valorise subaltern urbanism but converges on the substance of dignified living through different perspectives. The way in which the local state responds to the 'autonomous' or mediated claims of shack dwellers in such multi-actor contexts needs to be further analysed.

### **3.6 Shack dwellers' counter-responses to camp formations**

Given the earlier descriptions of the state's response to the slum challenges – in the form of abandonment, palliative or aesthetic upgrading, as well as the slum narrative of dispossession by multiple actors in slum upgrading – it is vital to understand the counter-responses of shack dwellers. Knowledge of these counter-responses will aid in understanding several ways in which Enkanini residents sought to disrupt the prevailing neglect. Counter-responses of shack dwellers are currently understood as mobilisations around forms of resistance and other 'weapons of the poor', as well as repossessing their slum narrative through self-visibilisation.

### 3.6.1 Forms of resistance

Shack dwellers have crafted their own ‘weapons of the weak’ (Scott, 1985; 1990) to resist and subvert mechanisms that marginalise them from the urban economy’s vital resource networks. These forms of resistance are both overt and covert. The overt forms are usually manifested as service delivery protests. According to Alexander (2010), South Africa has become the ‘protest capital’ of the world because of the frequency of such expressions of discontent by shack dwellers. The works of Levenson (2012) and Robins (2014) in Cape Town has revealed that these protests and their violent nature are performative acts aimed at attracting the attention of urban authorities. For instance, some of Levenson’s research subjects indicated that they were burning tyres and barricading roads so that their councillor (whom they had not seen since the elections) would come and address them. They said that when the councillor came, they could then express their sense of being neglected and abandoned.

Covert tactics, however, are related to Scott’s (1990) ‘hidden transcripts’ and ‘infrapolitics’ by the poor. These tactics reveal how the poor critique the state’s interventions and discourses. Examples include cases where the poor publicly or outwardly accommodate the state’s responses to the slum problems while subverting the same through their everyday life. A case in point is how shack dwellers criticise the state by appropriating the slum dweller identity to show the lack of dignity in their living environments (Selmeczi, 2012b). By so doing, the state is embarrassed as the scale of abandonment, neglect and political exploitation (by politicians) is exposed (ibid).

Other covert forms of resistance consist of what Jones (2011) describes as ‘spaces of refusal’. These are a “range of activities that are not overt political resistance but nevertheless refuse to abide by the binary framing of state territorial and identity categories” (ibid: 1). Jones elaborates that in these spaces of refusal “the state is there but its power is incomplete and fragmented. These other ways of seeing, knowing, and being are important acts that refuse the sovereign power’s claim to define subjects and activities in those spaces” (ibid: 11). A phenomenon of refusal that is closely related to informal settlements is what Bayat (2000; 2013) observed as the ‘silent encroachment of the ordinary’. Bayat describes the silent, protracted but pervasive forms through which ordinary residents or the poor improve their lives by transgressing

the red lines. These red lines are found in the urban services that are denied to shack dwellers. Through “atomised and prolonged mobilisation with episodic collective action ... without clear leadership, ideology or structured organisation”, the poor have managed to “contest many fundamental aspects of the state prerogatives, including the meaning of order, control of public space, of public and private goods, and the relevance of modernity” (Bayat, 2013:46). Bayat gives examples of how, through these encroachments, the poor have forced the urban authorities to extend services to their communities outside the conventional provisioning processes. Even in cost-recovery regimes, Bayat shows some find ways of refusing to pay. This has been exhibited in South Africa through *izinyoka* (lit: snakes)<sup>44</sup> in townships.

According to Bayat (2013), the aim of these kinds of silent encroachment practices is twofold: redistribution of social goods and opportunities, and a search for autonomy. The first relates to access to resources such as urban land that, according to the logics of a capitalistic urban process, the urban poor are unable to access affordably and securely. This also applies to basic urban services such as clean water, dignified sanitation, electricity, transport, waste collection and waste disposal. Bayat says that the second goal, that of autonomy, is contradictory in the sense that as much as informality evolves outside the prescribed boundaries, shack dwellers also “seek security from state surveillance because an informal life in the conditions of modernity is also an insecure life” (ibid: 50). This predicament highlights the bricolage of shack dwellers that cannot be generalised through descriptions that represent confrontation and perpetual resistance. The trend is that of “constant negotiation and vacillation between autonomy and integration” (ibid: 50).

As distinct from these kinds of silent practices, one overt form of resistance is what has broadly been called ‘insurgent urban citizenship’. Insurgent urban citizenship refers to a “political transformation that occurs when the conviction of having a right to the city turns residents into active citizens who mobilize their demands through residentially-based organizations that confront entrenched national regimes of citizen inequality” (Holston, 2011:337). This kind of insurgency has been labelled as ‘becoming political’ or ‘political stagings’ by those occupying abject spaces who “enact

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<sup>44</sup> The term is now used to describe informal and illegal electricity connections. In shack settlements, *izinyoka* constitute illegal and informal connections while in the formal townships they are informal reconnections where the service provider has cut the supply.

themselves as political by exercising rights that they do not have” (Lee, 2010:61), thereby critiquing the state’s neoliberal notions of citizenship that abandon the poor (Clarke, 2005). Earle (2012) extended Holston’s description by identifying ‘transgressive citizenship’ based on actions by relatively poorer groups in São Paulo, Brazil. She illustrated transgressive citizenship as used by the urban poor who illegally occupied abandoned and empty buildings earmarked for demolition and urban renewal in the city centre. Transgressive occupants justified their actions by calling upon the state to uphold the urban poor’s constitutional right to housing. In that instance, the urban poor disrupted the urban renewal projects that were likely to gentrify or push them away from the city centre to pave the way for middle-class residential development. The actions were a form of demanding for attention.

Although Earle’s case of São Paulo provides a comparative anthropological explanation for my case of Enkanini, it has limitations as to what extent it can provide an understanding of the counter-responses of the residents of Enkanini. Earle’s research site was earmarked for upmarket city centre redevelopment and real estate projects while areas such as Enkanini have occupied public land and spaces that often did not attract the interest of redevelopment and real estate projects – other than, in the Enkanini case, development of a nature reserve. These spaces have included environmentally sensitive areas such as wetlands or steep hillsides and other marginal public land (Basset, Gulyani, Farvacque-Vitkovic and Debomy, 2003). While occupants of the contested land in São Paulo who were studied by Earle emphasised the responsibility of the state to fulfil its constitutional mandate of ensuring access to housing through ‘disruptive’ means, there is need for an understanding of other nondisruptive performances. This is particularly important for informal settlements occupying nonprime land.

Additionally, much of the mobilisations of shack dwellers have been articulated through the tropes of social movements. This is somewhat problematic because a number of shack dwellers have no explicit or intimate affiliation with a network of shack dwellers such as those of AbM or SDI in South Africa. Such shack settlements that have no explicit or intimate affiliation with these movement-like networks require their mobilisations and insurgencies to be understood in non-movement frameworks, even if they recognise how these movements share their cause.

Criticism has been levelled at these insurgent and transgressive practices. According to Johnson (2005), some of the transgressive behaviours work against civic engagement and engender destructive or criminal cultures and weaken prospects of partnership and other collaborations that have brought resources into some informal settlements. According to Meth (2013), violence in South African examples of insurgency makes it difficult to either celebrate or condemn insurgent practices. Meth concludes that the standpoints and actions of the urban poor are not necessarily 'innocent' positions, given the prevalence of garrison politics, vigilantism and criminal practices in shack settlements.

The state can respond to shack dwellers' insurgent and transgressive practices in several ways. One, which this chapter highlights, is how the state abandoned AbM and then brought in state-sponsored violence (Chance, 2010; Gibson and Patel, 2009; Patel, 2011). Another is that the state can also construct an inflated representation of criminality and violence in shack settlements in general and then abandon them or merely increase policing. The fact that shack dwellers in South Africa use violence to attract attention (Levenson, 2012) means that they entangle themselves in identities that simultaneously unsettle their mobilisation (Holston, 2008; 2011). Reading about the 1986 clashes between young ANC supporters (*comrades*) and the *witdoeke* (a group supported by the slumlords and the apartheid state) in Crossroads (Cape Town) indicates how violence rests on both the state and the shack settlements (Field, 2001). The state armed the *witdoeke* vigilantes to weaken anti-apartheid resistance and to force sections of the communities that were sympathetic to the 'comrades' to relocate to the newly formed township of Khayelitsha (*ibid*). Bähre (2007) reveals how the post-apartheid state ignored violence and criminal behaviour<sup>45</sup> by community development leaders (the 'Big Five') of Indawo Yoxolo (Cape Town). Those involved were never prosecuted but were merely given a political suspension from the ANC, only to be reinstated later. Hence, the use of violence by the apartheid and post-apartheid state shows that the argument of imputing violence only to shack dwellers is biased.

Activism and rights discourses have also been criticised for precluding complex negotiations of claims and non-rights mediation (Ong, 1999; 2006). Lee (2010)

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<sup>45</sup> Such as illegal selling of land, demanding bribes from residents to obtain housing and killing of residents (Bähre, 2007).

extends this criticism by arguing that both Agamben<sup>46</sup> and his critics<sup>47</sup> have ignored the interstitiality of sovereign power whereby ambiguous spaces emerge and are utilised by the “interstitial agency of the abject that sidesteps the binary of bare life and citizenship life” (59). Lee’s work is based on the manoeuvres of undocumented Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong. He identified the “third space of lived practises [located] between political life and bare life” (66) where the excluded act out a dynamic, complex unidirectional agency characterised by a mixture of opposition, subversion, negotiation and partnerships. These manoeuvres are mediated through “dissident practices and discourses that navigate the interstices inside/outside the political script of citizenship, [thus] enacting the claiming of rights and dignity in the third space” (ibid: 74). These practices simultaneously subjectify domestic workers and purchase benefits for the same workers through, for example, “work ethic, efficient home care, pleasant attitude mixed with occasional projection of anger, silence, crying,[and] talking back to send covert signs” (ibid: 74) about their emotions. Lee’s (2010) study of domestic workers in Hong Kong, though informative, was premised on a relative proximity or intimacy between domestic workers and employers – a situation that is not enjoyed by slum dwellers in South Africa whose distance from the state augments overt and covert insurgency, as well as protests against abandonment and invisibility. The work of Lee does, however, provide insight into the need for recognising bricolage that unfolds in the form of pragmatic, non-rights tactics and mediations as shack dwellers and/or their intermediaries carve out architectures that further the cause of improving lives in informal settlements. They often use their territorial and/or political exclusion to develop a strong sense of identity and to mobilise for persistent struggles (Yiftachel, 2009:96).

In my study, I have considered it appropriate to explain different mobilisations that emerged through the mediation of the ISN, SANCO and street committees as well as the construction by Enkanini residents of ‘autonomous spaces’ to enact their citizenship. Currently, the most significant studies on informal settlements in South Africa are dominated by AbM’s discourse and have emphasised the legal victories against eviction and the right to information and participation (Huchzermeyer, 2011;

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<sup>46</sup> Whose thesis has a tendency to construct those occupying abject spaces as depoliticised subjects (Colatrella, 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Especially Isin (2002; 2008a) who emphasises the political (particularly the insurgent and activist) practices of those in the abject spaces.

Neocosmos, 2009; Pithouse, 2009, 2012b; Selmeczi, 2012a, 2012b; Walsh, 2008; Zikode, 2006) as symbolic gains brought about through the mobilisations of shack dwellers. Therefore, there is a need to go beyond the formal aspects of these struggles and study the various ways in which shack dwellers engage with the state in more subtle ways.

### **3.6.2 Visibility, representation and narrative (re)possession**

Literature on the legibility of informal settlements emphasises invisibility in the sense of being unknown and ignored (De Boeck, Cassiman and Van Wolputte, 2010; Neuwirth, 2005; Selmeczi, 2012b), having no address (Ross, 2010; Patel and Baptist, 2012) and being nonexistent in resource distribution priorities. According to Scott (1998), legibility is constructed when the state seeks to understand and create typologies of its subjects, often for control and discipline. Legibility is also seen in the creation of inventories, mapping and allocation of resources. The aim is to make populations, resources and territories visible and governable. Visibility then results in recognition and control (Brighenti, 2007). In shack dwellers' mobilisation, the politics of recognition is central insofar as it can lead to access to state resources. Yet, central to the modern state legibility projects is the deployment of a "host of normalizing techniques intended to count, assess and otherwise render citizens 'knowable' to the state" (Goldstein, 2002:489). There is scepticism about the usefulness of legibility projects among some scholars who argue that the creation of legibility has been associated with the creation of subjects for development (Agrawal, 2002; Escobar, 1995) or with "crafting intelligible fields for government intervention and problematizing such fields so as to make certain 'deficiencies' emerge as improvable"<sup>48</sup> (Ghertner, 2011:186). In contrast, Scott (1998) argues that "an illegible society is a hindrance to any effective intervention by the state, whether the purpose ... is plunder or public welfare..." (78). Relating to this benevolent aspect of legibility, Scott observed the pro-poor dimension or the potential of legibility through which the invisible can be 'visibilised' in ways that 'responsibilise' the state.

Goldstein's (2002) study in a Bolivian *barrio* (Villa Pagador) gives an ethnographic account of the struggle of the marginalised to gain visibility (legibility in Scott's terms) and cultural control over their own images that have been produced by the media and

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<sup>48</sup> That is through the manipulation of the field so as to produce it as worthy to be the target of development intervention.



anthropologists. Residents in these marginalised urban settlements fought against misrepresentation and neglect by the government. They did this by demanding a central role in the production of knowledge of the settlements. Recent developments in citizenship studies have called for a focus towards performative citizenship by studying the scripts and roles inscribed by the excluded (Louis, 2009; Pine, 2010). Huchzermeyer (2009), for example, articulates the role of self-enumeration in Kisumu slums in Kenya to visibilise the plight of slum dwellers. Self-enumeration is a community-run and -owned household survey exercise devised by SDI and refined in various countries by its affiliates that consists of

... shack counting and numbering; mapping of the settlement; administration of a questionnaire devised and adjusted in community meetings, with all the relevant information about each household; elaboration of the information collected; verification and amendments; presentation to the public. In particular, this body of data would be shared with Government and hopefully used by the latter as the main source of information (ISN, Sheffield Road Community Leadership and CORC, 2009:5).

Huchzermeyer (2009) illustrates the instrumental role of these community-driven legibility processes to campaign for secure tenure. However, the *de facto* tenures in South Africa – where some informal settlements have been tolerated for a long time – makes their tenure security less contentious than the issues raised in their protests over urban services or expanded services. Another articulation by slum dwellers is that of the ‘politics of shit’ (Appadurai, 2002a), whereby public display of undignified human waste management augments the urban poor’s “politics of recognition from below” (ibid:37; cf. Taylor, 1992). By so doing, shack dwellers “re-situate this private act of humiliation and suffering” (ibid: 37) in their protest to the state. Other recent performative acts of this kind have been the ‘poo wars or protests’ in Cape Town (Conradie, 2014; Robins, 2014).

Ghertner’s (2010) study of the genealogy of slum enumerations in Delhi (India), dating back to pre-independence times, shows the resistance of slum dwellers to their enumeration by the state. Slum dwellers resisted because the enumeration exercise was meant for land reconnaissance and their ultimate eviction from ‘encroached’ public land as well as the demolition of their homes. An alchemic moment occurred when residents publicly discredited the accuracy of the state-sponsored slum survey by publicly exposing the unethical conduct of the enumerators and countered the

state's "claim to exclusive, expert knowledge of slums" (ibid: 203). Slum dwellers not only managed to eventually influence the suspension of the government's slum survey and planned demolitions against all odds<sup>49</sup> but also undertook their own 'counter-survey'. It should be noted that the victories were facilitated by the agency of "a network of slum organizations called *Sajha Manch* (Joint Platform) and received technical assistance from professional non-governmental organization workers" (ibid: 203) to bolster their case against the state's slum survey. With their own counter-survey, slum dwellers in Delhi raised their visibility by incorporating many details ignored by state enumerators, while unsettling the state's enumeration. This detailing of previously ignored aspects provided a pathway to constructing their own narrative.

My aim in conducting research for the present study has been to highlight how this kind of invisibility was a social product of essentialising (shack settlement residents, otherwise described as the urban poor, are intrinsically dangerous lawbreakers) and of prescribing the organisation of space and service provision. This has required an explanation of the extent to which recent rituals of self-enumeration, self-mapping and self-documentation were transforming the shadowy representation of shack settlements, and enacting shack settlements as being 'part of the legal city' that are entitled to have "access to public services and entitlements in urban areas" (Patel and Baptist, 2012:3). In as much as shack dwellers have constructed their legibility by mobilising knowledge about themselves (Appadurai, 2012), one is led to ask how this knowledge is or can be translated into a sustained community narrative and eventual upgrading interventions. One must also ask: beyond sustaining this knowledge, how transformative is the state of being known by the state? Answers to such questions are crucial in the context of slum dwellers' envisaged "stronger negotiations with those who still see the urban poor as a burden, a blight or a mere votebank" (Appadurai, 2012:641). Even more psychologically painful to shack dwellers is the continued denial of recognition of their existence and their circumstances through their distorted visibility. According to Brighenti (2007), this distortion results from domination and oppression whereby some actors legitimate themselves as those who look and understand better as distinct from others who are 'looked at' and understood. The

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<sup>49</sup> As courts made decisions and established their own teams, in addition to litigations by "middle class neighbourhood associations and civic groups" (Ghertner, 2010: 198), to force the state to implement its planned evictions and demolitions of slum areas.

work of Robins (2014) on ‘data-driven activism’ by the Social Justice Coalition (SJC) in Khayelitsha Informal Settlement (Cape Town) helps us to understand the way the instrumental role of enumeration was perceived in Enkanini. Although social audits by the SJC caused a stir and a formidable attention to the sanitation problems and indignity in Khayelitsha, the same could not unfold in Enkanini as the resultant statistics from enumeration did not foreground the particular engagements that residents sought to have with the municipality – engagements through which they sought their own autonomous access to the corridors of power in the struggles for both the substantive materialities of service provision and a more ephemeral but even more important characteristic – being recognised as wholly urban citizens.

### **3.6.3 ‘Acts of’ and ‘enacting’ citizenship**

Granted that axes of urban citizenship in South African society are built around access to housing and urban services (Miraftab and Wills, 2005), these axes are located in normative enclosures; norms that confine and prescribe housing development and urban services according to the PSBO spatial framework. This spatial framework is a generally accepted development sequence practised by the state and local authorities involved in housing development. Settlements evolving outside the framework tend to be excluded from resource flows and privileges that are channelled through conventional spatial orders.

The work of Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) gives an historical analysis of how the obsession and imposition of geometry and orthogonal shapes was associated with civilisation by nineteenth century missionaries in the south of Botswana. Built environments lacking such geometric aesthetics were then and still are rejected as disorderly landscapes and abodes of wild creatures instead of homes for cultured humans.

The above argument illuminates clearly the provenance of and the challenges raised by labelling Enkanini as ‘*ihlathi*’ or a bush – the same term used to describe the informal settlement where Ross (2010) first worked, and whence the residents were subsequently relocated to a formal settlement. It also helps explain how informal settlements find themselves non-legitimated as *man-made* environments and thus excluded from the vital axes of urban living, with the consequence that they have had to evolve outside the conventional framework of resource distribution. Their exclusion

from basic service delivery should be regarded as a symbol of a lack of substantive citizenship.

Much of the literature has highlighted the need to study the mobilisations of informal settlement residents enacting themselves as citizens (Bayat, 2000; Chatterjee, 2004). Isin's (2008a) theoretical work on contemporary forms of citizenship illustrates how certain new actors are emerging to embody particular 'acts of citizenship'. Through these acts, those in abject spaces assert themselves as claimants of rights and, by so doing, enact themselves as citizens. These claim-making acts are considered 'an expression of the need to be heard', performative acts of citizenship "that 'create a scene' and 'call into question the script'" (Isin, 2008b:379) of formal citizenship. Formal citizenship here refers to the legal status of, in the present case, being a South African (a mere title), while substantive citizenship concerns "the enacted content" (Knudsen, 2007:6) or material benefits.

Isin's (2008a) theorisation of acts of citizenship is yet to be extended to shack dwellers' cooperative, insurgent and transgressive practices. It would be appropriate to portray the mobilisation and engagement of informal settlements with the state as embodying this claim-making practice and their construction of urban citizenship.

However, this extension of acts of citizenship should focus not only on shack dwellers' current fragmented service delivery protests (Bond, 2012). It should also genealogically unpack the trajectory of informal settlements. Service delivery protests by shack dwellers have been understood as assertive manoeuvres and 'invented participatory spaces' (Miraftab and Wills, 2005) through which the state is brought into the shack dwellers' spaces, instead of their moving into more formal spaces. In other words, shack dwellers demand services in spaces that are denied or abandoned or have limited access to services. Identifying and describing acts of citizenship require one to locate "moments when the subjects constitute themselves as citizens or better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (Isin, 2008a:18). Unpacking the evolution of the development of informal settlements can highlight *moments* marked by great strides made by the urban poor in entering the city. These moments are clearly reflected in the way in which the urban poor breach and circumvent the PSBO process.

In the case of Enkanini, the demands for expanded services such as water and sanitation, as well as services such as electricity that are categorically denied provide an interesting platform to pursue this deepening of the foothold in the city. South African literature on electricity protests and *izinyoka* (illegal power connections) show that they originated from problems of affordability and resultant disconnections in the townships that are covered by the grid (Barchiesi, 1998; Dugard, 2009; Howells, Victor, Gaunt, Elias and Alfstad, 2006). The electricity narrative from the perspective of informal settlements is left undeveloped, particularly the components of belonging that it embodies. Within the 'service moment' of the informal settlement setting, there exists potential transformations with regard to how professionals trained to provide services based on a particular spatial geometry respond to demands premised on different 'spatial orders' that are read as chaotic. Pursuit of this service moment will extend scholarship on how insurgent practices – of claiming what is denied – unfold in ways that can facilitate the explanation of slum dwellers' ontogenetic rootedness in the urban realm.

For the most part, electricity supply in South Africa's informal settlements, if any, is obtained through informal and illegal connections<sup>50</sup> (UN-Habitat, 2007). Informal electricity connections consist of shack dwellers connecting their cables to a formally connected house, based on agreed prepayments, while illegal connections are direct connections to the distribution lines. I build a case that this particular service held key symbolic and material representations of inclusion and exclusion for informal settlement dwellers. This stems from the refusal of the state to provide the service to informal settlements and the defiant and transgressive acts carried out by shack dwellers in order to access electricity.

The current anthropology of energy consumption has taken a leap from a focus on luminous city nights that defy the natural clock (D'Costa, 2011) to rural electrification and its concomitant development effects (Matinga and Annegarn, 2013; Winther, 2010). This leap is problematic because it *universalises* urban electrification (by jumping to rural electrification) and neglects some urban categories whose nocturnal urban life alienates them from "...a landscape full of light and rich with shadows" (Schlor, 1998:9). With electricity, nights constitute "the other half of the metropolitan

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<sup>50</sup> Except in those informal settlements that have benefitted from upgrading interventions.

**day...**" (ibid: 9, emphasis in the original). The nocturnal dimension of most South African informal settlements entails viewing the bright nights of other neighbourhoods from a distance. This raises questions about whether they are part of the same city. Anthropology of luminosity and darkness from the vantage point of the unconnected informal settlements can provide texts and stories capturing the positionalities of their residents in the city. I use the metaphor 'unconnected' in my description of this spatial urban category (of shack settlements) based on the observed apartheid and post-apartheid state's refusal to electrify shack dwellers' living environments (Bond, 2012; De Beer and Swanepoel, 1994). Borrowing the Heideggerian metaphor that equates 'being in the city' with bringing 'things' (commodities and services) nearer so as to satisfy one's needs, the distance between shack dwellers and the luminous part of the city tends to position them as outsiders. I submit that there is a need to examine their struggles for urban inclusion as mediated by electrical connection, to capture their profound abjection and being redlined from the grid of modernity (Ferguson, 2008). This struggle is expected to continue in South Africa where ambiguities about informal settlements as legally tolerated by urban authorities (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1994) prevail alongside the legal instruments regarding these sites as 'unproclaimed areas' (Department of Energy, 2011), that is, not proclaimed for residential use. Shack dwellers' citizenship constructed around claims to be connected to the electricity grid becomes even more complicated in the current crisis of repeated power-outages, as a result of inadequate capacity, faced by Eskom.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented a theoretical understanding of informal settlements first by tracing the history of urbanization in South Africa and the spatial injustices attendant to it as well as its living legacy today. The marginalizing of Kayamandi and eventually Enkanini was understood by identifying the concepts of the camp and state of exception as key. This study, however, seeks to locate shack dwellers' insurgent, transgressive and other acts of overt and covert resistance within the camp-sustaining processes. The metaphor of urban citizenship was presented as a frame for attempting to understand ways in which shack dwellers enacted themselves as rights claimants or citizens. This construction of citizenship has been mirrored by the engagements of shack dwellers and the local state with the broader aim of attracting resources to shack

settlements. The chapter illustrated the weaknesses of both the partnership model and the litigious route of accessing state resources as articulated in SDI philosophy and the AbM narrative respectively. The major weakness was the obscuring of the role of clientelism. Beyond the patron-broker-client relationships, the role of academics and their collaboration with shack dwellers need to be recast from the dominant role of the leftist scholars in AbM so as to acknowledge a different category that is central to this study (SI). The combination of the shack dwellers, state, patrons, civil society (SDI) and non-leftist academics in Enkanini brings out the inadequate understanding and effects of multi-actors' competing interests and upgrading discourses. The discourses of academics, politicians-*cum*-patrons and the local state on upgrading in Enkanini also call for an understanding of how the claim-making practices of shack dwellers evolve and interact with these competing and potentially displacing discourses. The state's discourse on addressing slum challenges regarding tolerated or nondemolished shack settlements was portrayed as neglect and an aesthetic or palliative intervention. The chapter illustrated how the existing literature that portrays shack dwellers has brought out their counter-responses to the state's attitude towards their settlements. The counter-responses centre on the tropes of resistance and visibilisation. This study sought to understand how these counter-responses constituted an enactment of citizenship, especially when shack dwellers had to contend not only with the state's attitude but also with the displacing practices of patrons and academics.

Central to the identification and understanding of the construction of citizenship along the trajectories of shack settlement formation and emergent mobilisations are four main arguments that demand explanation. The first argument relates to the evolution of neglect and the state's attitude towards existing non-demolished shack settlements. This attitude is laden with structures of meanings that need interpretation with regard to how shack settlements are positioned in the city. It is also necessary to understand how shack dwellers interrogate the state's attitude(s) towards their settlements. Of particular importance is the capture and interpretation of what constitutes urban belonging to shack dwellers. This is articulated in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

The discourses of belongingness bring out the second argument, namely how this belongingness is constructed around the 'axes of urban citizenship'. The genealogical understanding of informal settlement is utilised to explain the key moments in the



trajectory of Enkanini. Foucault's genealogical approach has been utilized to examine the conditions through which discourses emerged about life and its improvement in Enkanini and how those were constructed over space and time. The study has appropriated this approach to describe how informal settlement formation and the residents' claim-making challenges the prevailing orthodoxy about urban spatial organization and service provision, and how their doing that seeks to destabilize and denaturalize conventional forms of accessing state resources. In tracing the story of Enkanini, the study analyses how conventional spatial regulations were internalized and engaged with. Chapter 5 proffers an interpretive explanation of these moments and the enactment of citizenship and citizenship gains around the same moments.

The third argument relates to the need to position assertive practices of shack dwellers within the competing and displacing interests and discourses of the state, the SI, SDI and Kayamandi politicians. The competing elements of these discourses need to be understood in the manner in which they make shack dwellers' citizenship gains and discourse(s) vulnerable to displacement. This is explained in Chapter 6.

The fourth argument relates to the improved understanding of the interaction between clientelism and shack dwellers' associational autonomy within the genealogy of shack settlements and mobilisations in South Africa. Chapter 4 explains this within the context of Enkanini that is historically laden with clientelism but icurrently experiencing mobilisations that appear to be autonomous.

## CHAPTER 4: STATE-SHACK DWELLERS' ENGAGEMENTS ON SLUM UPGRADING

### Vignettes

"It's a nature reserve" (Speaker for Stellenbosch Municipality on August 28, 2012 during the meeting of the Enkanini community with the mayor, councillors, officials and SI team at the Council Chambers).

"We still have a court order" (ibid).

"*Bathi lihlathi, indawo yezilwane*" ("It's a bush, a place of lions") (one Kayamandi politician and Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini at the community meeting on the evening of August 28, 2012 at Enkanini).

"*Imikhukhu yodwa, kukho ntuthuko?*" ("Its shacks only, there's no development") (Enkanini resident, at the meeting between Enkanini leaders and Kayamandi politicians on the evening of October 24, 2012 at the Corridor Offices).

"Solar option now, no grid electricity" (Speaker for Stellenbosch Municipality on August 28, 2012 during the meeting of the Enkanini community with the mayor, councillors, officials and SI team at the Council Chambers).

"Enkanini [is] now known globally" (Mathanzima at the community meeting on the evening of August 28, 2012 at Enkanini).

"Informal settlements and rural areas don't need transformers" (Official of a solar technology company in George on September 20, 2012).

### 4.1 Introduction

'Debates on slum upgrading have been built on two contrasting discourses. The first is that the state ought to extend legality, legitimacy and resources to shack settlements on the grounds that these settlements are part of urban society and its spatial forms. Based on this discourse, shack dwellers engage with the state through rights-claiming approaches and other insurgent practices to demand improvements in their living conditions. The other discourse is what MacLeod (2002) and Huchzermeyer (2006; 2011; 2012; 2013) observed as saliently promoted by global neoliberalism and the neoliberal state in South Africa; namely that shack settlements and their formations do not constitute a legitimate urban-built environment worth connecting to the network of urban services. The process for legitimising the creation of the urban built environment is that of PSBO, which is circumvented and eschewed by shack dwellers. The second discourse emphasises the revanchist tones that translate into actions of slum eradication.

While this may be true for informal settlements threatened by eviction, the reality of several shack settlements reveals a 'peacetime' or post-invasion tolerance of their existence, but systematic abandonment by the state. This requires a change in slum upgrading research foci from tenure issues to service delivery. Though this has been done, the emphasis has been on townships, and the narrative of nostalgia and disconnection has been imputed to informal settlements, which have no prior connection.

The core argument of this chapter is that the state's neglect of South African shack settlements emerges out of indifference, nonaction, abandonment and displacement or dispossessive collaborations on discourses of slum upgrading instead of revanchism and actions of disconnection. This argument is developed first by a description of the Enkanini residents' current shallow foothold or toehold in Stellenbosch in terms of contributing to the urban economy through their labour, expenditure and media. The shallowness of their foothold is interpreted from the Heideggerian philosophy on being-in-the world, which centralises the forms and quality of dwelling or habitation as a way of crafting shack dwellers' humanity, dignity and citizenship within the urban realm (Marshall, 2014). The deficit of citizenship is located in the spatial logics of service delivery where informal settlements are excluded because they evolve outside the purview of the legitimated processes of urban environment creation. Indifference, nonaction and abandonment of shack dwellers are deciphered from an understanding of the unspoken conclusions about informal settlements that are veiled in official responses to shack dwellers' demands for better living environments and services. These 'living' but unspoken conclusions about informal settlements are embedded in the exchanges between the municipality and shack dwellers in which the municipality discursively effaces the existence of their settlements and legitimises neglect and abandonment. This argument is then amplified by interpreting the discourses and actions of politicians and researchers who have appropriated the ever-present but emotive issues of shack dwellers as leverages for their own ends.

From the assemblage of these actors (municipality political leaders, Kayamandi-based politicians and SI researchers) in Enkanini, the chapter explains how shack dwellers and shack settlements are situated and at the same time situate themselves and define slum upgrading as dignified living. Without an understanding of these situating discourses, as well as the historical legacies illustrated in Chapter 3, narratives of

shack dweller mobilisation and improvement of the lives of slum dwellers risk being abstracted and branded out of context. The arguments are developed based on evidence from the engagements between the local state and shack dwellers to establish what *ought* to be done in Enkanini. The engagements were mostly embodied in meetings between the municipality, Enkanini residents, the KDF and the SI. This is part of the overall thesis wherein shack dwellers are delineated to illustrate and explain their claims and the meaning of these claims in their struggle to inhabit Stellenbosch in a dignified way.

#### **4.2 Self-connecting, economically ‘in’ and globally known but nowhere ‘inside’**

In 2011, most shack dwellers from Phezulu had their *izinyoka* connected from a few houses in Zone O, while those from eZansi were connected to houses in Snake Valley. For these informal electricity connections, shack dwellers paid around R200 (US\$25) per month. Frequent explosions of transformers and resultant blackouts in Zone O were then blamed on the residents who were supplying Enkanini with electricity. Those connecting their residences to cables from Enkanini were consequently asked by their neighbours to discontinue the practice. The requests were not heeded and a group of Zone O men went around their neighbourhood, disconnecting all *izinyoka* and confiscating connecting cables. This led to a protracted violent conflict between Zone O and Enkanini residents. When the Law Enforcement Unit officers of the municipality and the SAPS came in to restore order, they shielded Zone O residents and fired rubber bullets towards Enkanini. This irked Enkanini residents, who subsequently connected their cables directly to the municipal electricity main distribution lines passing near their settlement, leading to an escalation in the battles in which the SAPS and law enforcement officers from the municipality removed the cables during the day, only for them to be reconnected in the evening by Enkanini residents.

The situation persisted until the residents resorted to different clandestine connections in the evening. The targeted spot was a cable buried underground within the compound of the abutting Kayamandi Secondary School. Residents dug under the perimeter fence of the school to access the buried cable. On learning of this, the municipality reacted by disconnecting electricity to the school. The continued disconnections and power outages, triggered by electricity theft by Enkanini residents led the school to mobilise pupils on a protest march on 29 August, 2012. Pupils

demanded that the municipality provide Enkanini with electricity as a way of addressing their blackouts. The official from the electricity department of the municipality responded to these demands by arguing that the school was the property of the Department of Public Works, whose responsibility it was to deal with the siphoning of power as well as the damages to the mini-power station within the school yard.<sup>51</sup> The response was an attempt by the municipality to disconnect Enkanini from the electricity grid as well as to indirectly punish the school authorities for allowing power theft from their premises. Cutting off Enkanini from the electricity distribution network as well as one-sided intervention by the SAPS in the Enkanini-Zone O conflicts revealed a society of shack dwellers who were being redlined from access to resources and protection.

It is vital to note that those same shack dwellers have multi-stranded economic connections with Stellenbosch town. I observed that most residents worked in the construction sector, on farms and in retail outlets in town. During the morning hours of working days, I also observed residents flocking downwards and out of Enkanini through the southern gate, passing through the glass factory in the Plankenburg industrial area. They were on their way to work, with some being picked up by their employers' vans. Those wearing security guard uniforms often rode their bicycles to town or further to Lyndoch and Somerset West. I saw female domestic workers rushing to Du Toit Station or to the few minibuses that took them directly to Somerset West. I also observed many unemployed residents going in and out of Kayamandi to have their *curricula vitae* (CVs) typed. Job hunting by shack dwellers is done through connections with Enkanini and Kayamandi residents already in employment who have information on prospective job openings. Those seeking jobs where CVs were not required often went to wait at the intersection of Bird Street and '711' or Adam Tas R44 road for daily casual jobs. Two residents whom I encountered in the settlement during working hours said that they had been dismissed when they protested against low salaries in the milk processing factory. This appeared to be a 'normal' state of affairs for residents who not only asserted themselves but also aspired to better and

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<sup>51</sup> This argument was also repeated at the meeting on September 10, 2012 at Kayamandi Secondary School.

more effective economic integration in the form of higher earnings. On most days towards sunset, I also observed residents climbing up the steep pathways within the settlements, adorned in diverse regalia that symbolised their different workplaces. Men would be dressed in their work suits while most women wore t-shirts and pants uniforms of common supermarkets and food courts in Stellenbosch.

There was also regular traffic of children from Enkanini wearing school uniforms in and out of Kayamandi schools. Interestingly, many Kayamandi parents preferred to send their children to Cape Town schools. Though this appeared to be a gesture aimed at setting themselves apart from Enkanini and Zone O residents, the commitment by Enkanini parents to send their children to school is symbolic of their envisioned contribution to the society that they live in. Just as Perlman (2007) observed in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) that parents invested their meagre earnings in the education of their children and interpreted it as a symbol of citizenship, the same was seen in the study area. This investment in education revealed an attempt to endow children with the cultural assets that are a prerequisite in the meritocratic employment market. Enkanini parents appeared to be grooming their descendants for relatively better integration into society compared to theirs.

Twilight on Fridays, especially at the end of the month, revealed a scene of residents returning home carrying groceries, especially rice, maize meal, potatoes and vegetables. They could not buy perishables in large quantities as lack of electricity made it difficult for most residents to own fridges to store and preserve larger quantities of perishable foodstuffs. The bulk of residents' daily expenditures occurred at the Kayamandi and Stellenbosch central business district supermarkets. They also relied on Enkanini *spaza* shops<sup>52</sup> operated by Somali migrants for goods needed immediately. My up-close observations revealed some forms of the classical retail strategy of breaking bulk by *spaza* shop owners, that is, the unbundling of larger items into single items, thus making them affordable to those who might not be able to buy bigger quantities of grocery items. One afternoon, I witnessed a child who, having returned from school, was buying a single tea bag. This kind of buying illustrates the precarious nature of the lives of residents.

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<sup>52</sup> Local convenience shops, often home based.

The above descriptions of the working patterns and expenditure practices of residents show that residents of Enkanini community expended their labour and incomes in the economy of Stellenbosch. This contribution, through sweat and expenditure, has been used in the literature as an argument that shack dwellers ought to be recognised as critical categories in urban economies (Bayat, 2000, 2013; Roy, 2011). It is also part of Perlman's (2007) rejection of the supposed marginality of shack dwellers in Rio de Janeiro. Her argument is that shack dwellers fill critical gaps by taking up jobs, however menial and low paying they may be, jobs that are despised and shunned by the elite. These include key economic sectors of Stellenbosch town, such as construction, farming and the retail industry. I contend that it is better to acknowledge shack dwellers' contribution now than in future, which may churn out bitter sentiments of nonrecognition, as is the case with regard to the role played by slaves in building the White House in the United States of America. While I am not projecting shack dwellers as slaves in the urban economy, I merely maintain that, for instance, the current portrayal of the White House on television and its symbolism of American power worldwide leaves no room for the appreciation of its builders.

In mentioning the art of projecting urban centres to the global audience, I find it necessary to remark that the iShack Project piloted in Enkanini enjoyed showcasing worldwide. For example, among other world press sources, *The New York Times* of 5 November 2012 (Bryce 2012), AllAfrica Newsdesk on 3 July 2012 (Kermeliotis, 2013), Globenews24.com on 5 November 2012 (Bryce 2012), Al Jazeera English on 18 November 2012, *The Guardian* of 25 December 2012 (Duval-Smith 2012), CNN on 8 January 2013 (Kermeliotis, 2013) and TEDTalks on 21 May 2013 presented the innovations of solar power 'in South Africa'. Meanwhile, during a meeting on 4 September 2012 at the SI, it was reported that a beneficiary of the iShack Project, having been inundated by journalists seeking to interview her, had complained that she was no longer interested in entertaining journalists as the publicity had not benefited her.

Two aspects then emerge from the global presentation of Enkanini and the settlement's standing within Stellenbosch. The first is whether after such publicity from the dominant world press and the commitment by one of the world's biggest philanthropic foundations to fund the rollout of the iShack Project, Enkanini was showcased as part of Stellenbosch town. In *The New York Times* and on



Globenews24.com, Bryce (2012) represented Enkanini as a ‘South African settlement ... located in Cape Town’, while Duval-Smith (2012) portrayed it in *The Guardian* as an ‘informal settlement near ... and 40 km from Cape Town’. The two journalists represented and abstracted the settlement within and outside the city of Cape Town. The AllAfrica Newsdesk and CNN portrayed the study area as a ‘settlement in South Africa... that overlooks one of South Africa’s wealthiest towns’ and ‘just outside Stellenbosch’ (Kermeliotis, 2013) respectively. These later presentations, though mentioning Stellenbosch, consciously or unconsciously remove Enkanini from Stellenbosch. This portrayal of Enkanini settlement to the global audience is a glaring contrast to my earlier description of the integration of Enkanini community with the economy of Stellenbosch. These are some of the prejudices against shack settlements and mechanisms of blotting out their existence and projecting them as blights on the civil urban landscape (Appadurai, 2013).

Though the argument that shack settlements ought to be recognised as part of cities because of the contribution of their labour or as ‘toilers’ (Appadurai, 2013) and their expenditure is plausible, there is still an enduring perception – even from shack dwellers themselves – that they are not. As Chapter 3 highlighted in the case of India, aesthetics matter. These aesthetic perceptions are not based on labour and consumption patterns but rather are mediated by the quality of shack dwellers’ built environment. For example, a senior official in the municipality who questioned my interest in studying informal settlements ‘in Stellenbosch’ remarked with disdain that their inclusion in the spatial constitution of the city was still questionable. The official’s disdain was based on his perception that ‘Stellenbosch is the town of the rich and academics’. Therefore, debates on the extent to which shack settlements should be regarded as part of the city are premised upon whether their built environment *creation* process constitutes conventional modernist city making and upon the aesthetics of the settlements. This is important since spatiality and quality of living environments establish identities of ‘us’ and ‘them’ through the bispatial description of formal and informal settlements.

Beyond the aesthetics of the built environment, the legitimization of particular spatial forms by the state determines access to urban services. Those spatial forms that are loathed by engineers, planners and middle-class neighbours – such as squatter and informal settlements – are bypassed by the processes and infrastructure networks of

reticulating services. This leads to ‘naked life’ (Arendt, 1973) that is unconnected to rights. Legal debates on the socio-economic rights of shack dwellers even identified a retreat by the judiciary, from responsabilising the state to protecting the housing rights of the poor (De Vos, 2009; Wesson, 2011). After the much-lauded Grootboom decision in 2000, De Vos (2009) observed there has been a recent and emerging ‘innovation to the jurisprudence on socio-economic rights’ whereby the judiciary turned to emphasising ‘progressive realisation’ of rights but not real delivery as it did in 2000. This can be considered a retreat to the once-held view of the judiciary’s “role in implementing and analysing housing policy – and measuring it against the state’s constitutional obligations” (Tissington, 2010:5).

As Chapter 3 shows, struggles for socio-economic rights for shack dwellers are articulated and mediated in non-legal ways such as ‘political settlements’ or ‘the politics of what works’ (Desai and Woolcock, 2012) and quasi-corrupt political participation through patronage (Appadurai, 2013). Therefore, it is the argument and interpretation of this chapter that an enduring rootedness and foothold in urban society and urban life lie in the extent to which residents are virtuously connected to the flows of services. Through services such as water, sanitation and electricity, residents construct their dignity and humanity. Without this, shack dwellers are “reduced to a rootless existence, deprived of substantial links” (Žižek 2001:140). This chapter describes and explains the discourses that were used to ‘situate’ Enkanini within the image of Stellenbosch. The intention is to show the extent to which shack settlements are considered as being part of the ‘real’ city. I describe the way in which Enkanini is being situated mainly by the municipality as well as by the SI, SDI and the KDF. By excluding shack dwellers from amongst these actors, the intention is to present later their ambiguous position on the way in which they are situating themselves. Later descriptions will explain the extent to which this ambiguity formed the basis of their struggle to deepen their integration into the town.

### **4.3 Situated as permanent visitors**

The previous chapter highlighted the fact that the formation and maintenance of the settlement by the municipality – through provision of communal water and sanitation services – could be interpreted as a tacit integration of Enkanini into Stellenbosch. The nonrelocation of shack dwellers granted them some *de facto* security of tenure. The

existing water and sewerage services are part of the service reticulation system of Stellenbosch. Enkanini residents' self-connection to the electricity grid through *izinyoka* integrates them into a crucial avenue and a service, namely electricity, that they have been denied. However, this integration is shallow, deceptive, rudimentary and vulnerable to discursive reversals that construct and deconstruct the existence of Enkanini. Municipalities that have implemented *in situ* slum upgrading, for example in Latin America, have shown consistent extension of services into the community, the documented regularisation of tenure and the use of inclusive language discourses and practices.

My argument is that the current practice of free provision of water and sewerage reticulation positions shack settlements outside the municipality. In the conventional sequence of urban land development, PSBO, the costs of planning, surveying and installation of water and sewerage services are often passed on to prospective residents whose abilities to pay construct them as responsible citizens. There are cases of partial subsidisation, but in the typical neoliberal context of urban South Africa, an emphasis on cost recovery is pervasive. Universal free provision gives some pastoral identity and power to the municipality and therefore reinforces the problematic entitlement mentality. Pastoral power signifies the "power of care" (Foucault, 2007:127) that is "so effective and pervasive in governing" (Mayes, 2010:122). This pastoral identity, constructed by the municipality for itself, eclipses the relative affordability of services and purchasing power of shack dwellers, and such purchasing power and willingness to pay form the central tenets of responsible citizenship. It should be noted that shack dwellers already spend at least R200 on informal electricity connections per month. By extension, free rudimentary services are then perceived by the municipality to be adequate and the protest for expanded and better services delivery by shack dwellers is then viewed as unreasonable. This perception of the municipality emanates from the prejudice that, while shack dwellers clamour for free services, they are unwilling to pay. An African proverb states that "A visitor is a guest for two days, on the third day [and onwards], give him or her a hoe to work" (Gathogo, 2008: 280). This implies that "a person is not a visitor forever" (ibid: 280) as he or she will be expected to contribute to the welfare efforts of the host. Therefore, the municipality is constructing the impermanence of shack dwellers in urban centres by treating them as denizens only (permanent visitors, much as labour migrants were

treated during the apartheid era). In the current instance, this is done through continuous underprovision of free ‘emergency’ services. This constant provision of services then helps to portray the municipality as a benevolent actor and shack dwellers as mere parasites, at least within the neoliberal contexts of service delivery for which cost recovery is said to be essential.

Another form of impermanency emanates from the logic of the solar energy and the iShack innovations. It was built on the empirical observation that, as Wild (2015, online article, no page) has written:

some people who were promised houses 20 years ago are still waiting. The average waiting time is about eight year, depending on which province you live in. Mark Swilling, academic head of the Sustainability Institute in Stellenbosch, says that in 2011 he sat down with his students and asked: “What can be done while people are waiting? We wanted to orientate [our research] towards what the average shack dweller could do while they are waiting for the state”.

According to Redfield (2012), these represent minimalist humanitarian designs that have an interim status and do not pretend to pursue development interventions. However, with the municipality’s approach of non-action towards upgrading Enkanini, as described in this study, the ‘interim’ has taken a long-term nature and residents feared that the iShack project would displace their aspirations and their fight for a grid connection. For them the image of ‘waiting’ projects a situation of transition and an indefinite postponement of their urban dream being achieved. Since this waiting tends to be indefinite it helps construct a camp scenario in which there is no commitment from the state to undertake upgrading interventions.

I have thus appropriated the ‘denizen’ metaphor to effectively explain the situating processes that Enkanini shack dwellers were subjected to. Standing (2014) has recently utilised the denizen metaphor for mobile populations in ways that are relevant to Kayamandi and its containment of migrants from the Eastern Cape, whom the Western Cape Premier referred to as ‘refugees’. The President of South Africa

repeated the same sentiment when he addressed Enkanini residents on January 7, 2015. This positioning brings out the nonrootedness of those who *out-migrated* from the Eastern Cape but could not fully *in-migrate* to the Western Cape.

I borrow three ways in which Standing (2014) describes the evolution of this lack of what Pieterse (2009) calls ‘insertion into urban life’. Firstly, shack dwellers are ‘blocked from attaining [socio-economic] rights by laws, regulations and non-accountable actions’ of the state. This stems from the branding of settlements such as Enkanini as illegal, though veiled under the prefix ‘informal’. This chapter (next section) and Chapter 5 will explain how this veil was removed when it suited the local state most. Secondly, the Department of Energy (2011) labels many informal settlements as areas that are ‘unproclaimed’ for residential use, which then ‘constrains’ Eskom from connecting them to the grid. Thirdly, the continued neglect and abandonment of shack dwellers also reflects impunity, which Standing (2014) describes as ‘nonaccountable actions’. In the case of Enkanini it is more nonaccountable non-actions, with enumeration statistics showing that a single toilet and a water tap are shared by 72 and 139 residents respectively, while not stirring up any human consternation. This indifference needs to be compared with Stellenbosch Municipality’ 27 January 2015 apology on Twitter, to residents who complained about Eskom’s deviation from their published load-shedding schedule.<sup>53</sup> Such a comparison reveals a ‘tiered membership’ (ibid) of the Stellenbosch citizenry and a similarly tiered approach to service delivery and to substantive urban citizenship.

This contrast, between the governance of informal and formal settlements, stands as evidence that space is not an empty and given template but is a culturally constructed entity that is not only formed but is also accepted or rejected (Soja, 2010). The modernist orientation of urban planners and engineers sought to impose their utopian and imagined city that is symmetrically presented in their spatial plans. The imposition comes out of the legitimization of technocracy and the built environment creation process through the PSBO sequence. Yet, looked at differently, the formation of

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<sup>53</sup> (<https://twitter.com/stellmun/status/560326063390461952> [2015, April 9]). Related also is the apology by Stellenbosch Municipality that the earlier announced maintenance work in Wemmershoek by the City of Cape Town would not go ahead as scheduled and hence water supplies would not be *interrupted* (News24.com, June 6, 2014, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/No-water-cuts-in-Stellenbosch-20140606>[2014, August 26]).

informal settlements can reflect a post-modernist and heterotypic thinking whereby alternative ways of creating an urban environment appear. Attempts to recognise this heterotypic thinking is seen in the theoretical arguments that informal settlements are a normal part of the city (Boonyabancha, 2005; UN-Habitat; 2002).

However, the post-modernist arguments of Boonyabancha (2005) and Huchzermeyer (2012; 2013) fail to foresee how their arguments unconsciously 'legitimise' abandonment. Their arguments 'legitimise' abandonment by their failure to realise that the services that are desperately needed by shack dwellers are provided monopolistically by municipalities that are laden with a technocratic orientation. Though Huchzermeyer (2006) argues for the reorientation of these technocrats, the reality of Enkanini shows the hegemony of these technocratic ideas that are reinforced or overridden by the interests and dynamics of the party politics of the DA and the ANC.

This chapter offers evidence of shack dwellers who are not emphasising and elevating the significance and ontology of their settlement. Instead, they are emphasising dignity that is built around survival, basic services and equality with other humans living in formally built neighbourhoods in Stellenbosch. This is what is intimately located in the emotive demands and discontent of shack dwellers. This research depicts how citizenship is constructed from the substantive elements of survival and dignity instead of what scholarly artifice, especially by leftist academics, presents as ideological. This study shows that struggles for this substantive citizenship are piggybacked upon by various levels of politicians, precisely because of their historical roles in the formation of the settlement; and also by researchers because of the technical innovations that can be fashionable for shack settlements.

#### **4.4 Imitating the fox and the deceptions**

As alluded to in Chapter 3, it appears that someone (or some people) in the municipal leadership was a fan of the writings of Sun Tzu or Niccolo Machiavelli on guile and the art of war. The two ancient writers put forward the usefulness of cunningness and shrewdness, which could be applied to handling the demands of Enkanini residents. Machiavelli's counsels will be used here as they apply more to diplomacy and

government while Tzu's ideas have been adapted mostly in military practice. Machiavelli said that governors ought to imitate the fox whose cunningness could see through the snares and deception of adversaries. It is to be noted that the context of Enkanini claim making is laden with DA-led municipal executives' perceptions that shack dwellers do not carry an identity of their own but that their identity is embedded in the ANC. However, this section describes and challenges the arguments of the municipality against the claims for dignified living from Enkanini residents.

During meetings between the municipality and Enkanini's shack dwellers, the Speaker of the municipality often made reference to the 2007 court order granted in favour of the municipality to relocate the settlers. This institutional recall was used by the municipality to construct an image of illegality of the settlement. Beyond that image of illegality, the Speaker also argued that the municipality was trying to avoid 'litigation from stakeholders like the Rate Payers Association'<sup>54</sup> which might accuse the local state of providing extended services to an illegal settlement. Furthermore, the Speaker also stated that 'the municipality *cannot* provide grid electricity to Enkanini settlement because the court order needs to be scrapped first'.<sup>55</sup>

Due to lack of support for Enkanini residents in the form of legal aid and other technical forms of representation, the issue of the court order had never been questioned or challenged. Collaborations with legal aid organisations and activists could have built a strong rebuttal to this invoking of the five-year-old, nonimplemented and neglected court decision. Such aid could also have contended that, among other reasons, current provision of water and sewerage could constitute a tacit regularisation of the settlement.

That aside, the Speaker and the portfolio councillor for Integrated Human Settlements also presented the municipality as being constrained by the Land Use Designation of Erf 1 460, the land occupied by Enkanini. At the meetings held on August 28, 2012 and September 13, 2012, the two officials argued that prior to occupation of the property by shack dwellers; the area had been designated or zoned as a 'nature reserve'. Therefore, they stated that according to the municipality, permission was required from the Department of Environmental Affairs to convert the land use

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<sup>54</sup> Meeting at the Council Chambers on August 28, 2012.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.



designation of the area to residential use before addressing the residential demands of Enkanini residents.

Surprisingly, when I attempted to verify the official designation of the land occupied by Enkanini, the municipal staff I spoke to informed me that this reading of the situation was not true. Moreover, my attempts to access documents authenticating the land's nature reserve status were fruitless and I was told that the file was confidential and kept in the Planning and Economic Development Department. I was further informed by municipal council staff that, truly, the application by the municipality for a change of use from 'agricultural use' to 'nature reserve' had been lodged long before the formation of Enkanini but that no decision had been taken by the Western Cape Department of Environmental Affairs. The council staff also indicated that even if the decision had been made, the municipality would have had to rezone the piece of land to residential use, a process that would have taken some time. What transpired was that formally at the time, the land was still officially designated as a municipal farm zoned for agricultural use; a status reflected in the town's current spatial land use zones.

While it could be said that the municipality argued in anticipation of a change of use, my participant observation at several meetings showed that this was stated as a matter that had already been decided upon. Unfortunately no one ever sought to verify the matter. On that matter, shack dwellers were gullible. It is gullibility that other informal settlements can manage to counter through alliance with human rights lawyers, activists, NGOs and leftist academics (as has been the case with AbM). Such relationships or alliances were missing in Enkanini.

Family Health International (2010) and UN-Habitat (2011) have highlighted the need for champions or opinion leaders who can advocate the cause of particular communities. However, the final picture is that of a condescending state engaging the urban poor in discourses that have inadequate content. The emerging image is that of condescending attitudes that projects Enkanini residents as a benighted community. In such circumstances, it is clear how the tendencies towards neglect and abandonment are constituted, acted out and perpetuated.

#### 4.5 Dispossession and nonlegitimised ‘built environment’

Another aspect that led me to conclude that the municipality situated Enkanini ‘outside’ Stellenbosch was its staunch refusal to provide grid-linked electricity. When residents complained that the proposed alternative of solar energy was going to replace the possibility of grid-based electricity, the Speaker and the councillors repeatedly stated that the solar alternative was a temporary measure, while efforts were being made to reverse the court order and change the Erf 1 460 designation to that of residential area. With my prior training, knowledge and experience as an urban planner, I had a sense of the relatively long time needed to change urban land reservations. Furthermore, based on ‘insider’ knowledge about the ‘fictional’ nature reserve designation, the municipality’s shrewdness was obvious.

I contend that Machiavelli’s (1908) tact that ‘occasionally words must serve to veil the facts’, as used in this study, are underpinned by a clear but unstated conclusion about the positionality of Enkanini in Stellenbosch. Using argument analysis to build structures and meanings of arguments (Gasper, 2000), it is my observation that in the discourse of the Erf 1 460 designation as a nature reserve, Enkanini was rendered nonexistent. Invoking the ‘court order’, alluding to the reality of the ‘nature reserve’ status and using the term ‘temporary’ in the electricity discourse were grounds for nonprovision of electrical infrastructure. According to the Department of Energy (2011), electricity cannot be provided in ‘undesignated urban areas’ such as shack settlements. Invoking the court order is a language of dispossession that casts or projects illegitimacy on the existence of Enkanini settlement, while the municipality is presented in a blameless humanitarian image of pastoral care. This humanitarian image is built on the nonimplementation of the court order and tolerance towards invaders as well as the free provision of the few existing services. The embedded legal reference to the court order and the assumed illegality of the settlement also exclude any contribution of Enkanini to the legitimate spatial creation of Stellenbosch. Hence, it is assumed that whatever shack dwellers have built exists only in a dispensational and suspended mode that can be demolished. While the court order is a legal rebuttal to the spatial stature of Enkanini as a constituent part of Stellenbosch, the deployment of the nature reserve designation uproots and effaces any human contribution of Enkanini in the *created* built environment of Stellenbosch.

The phrase 'built environment' denotes the designed and human-made spatial product. The label of 'nature reserve' therefore discursively denotes nonexistence in the context of built environment creation as Erf 1 460 is rendered pristine. These discursive labels on the ontology of Enkanini in Stellenbosch are also buttressed by the municipality's unstated argument that Enkanini is a temporary settlement.

This attitude explains the persistent foisting of the unwanted solar energy alternative on shack dwellers. The SI facilitated an excursion to George on 20 September 2012 for Enkanini representatives to view electric appliances that could be supported by solar energy, during which remarks were made that rhetorically situated shack settlements outside urban centres. An official of a solar energy technology company made a presentation, claiming that grid electricity was unsustainable and wasteful, further stating that 'rural areas and informal settlements do not need transformers' for grid-based electricity. It was argued by the presenter that informal settlements and (other) rural areas needed simple and sustainable energy technologies that could tap solar energy.

While the argument of sustainability is a plausible one on its own merit, presenting it as an option appropriate for rural areas to an audience that is trying to articulate its urban belonging is problematic. It is problematic in the sense that putting informal settlements and rural areas in the same category positions the former outside the urban realm. In doing so, Enkanini settlement is stripped of its urban identity with the rural one imputed upon it.

#### **4.6 Exploitative collaborations**

Given their familiarity with municipal decision-making processes, politicians from Kayamandi chose not to verify, expose and counter the dishonest excuses made by the municipality to the shack dwellers. On the contrary, the KDF politicians built their relations with Enkanini on the same platform of dishonesty. It was clear from the interactions that the Kayamandi politicians had with Enkanini shack dwellers that the former sought to incite the latter to fight against the municipality. For instance, when the same politicians were invited to elaborate on the feedback given to the community on the evening of August 28, 2012, about the response of the municipality to the demands for electricity, their telling shack dwellers that the area that they had occupied since 2007 was regarded as a nature reserve was a mockery that cut deep into the

shack dwellers' mobilisation and struggle. A councillor, speaking in isiXhosa, told the residents that 'according to the municipality', their area "*ihlathi, indawo yezilwane*" (it is a forest or bush, a place of lions)!

While shack dwellers had hitherto drowned those addressing the meeting with shouts such as "*asifun' isolar*", surprisingly they were mum when the Kayamandi-based ANC politicians repeated – and amplified in their isiXhosa translation – the words of the municipality that Enkanini settlement was a bush. It appeared that the residents were stunned and overwhelmed by that 'bush' label. The label, as well as the lie about the designation, constituted a form of symbolic violence in the sense that the 'benighted' shack dwellers seemed to internalise these discourses without critically formulating rebuttals on their own or through other representatives. By graphically translating 'nature reserve' in Xhosa into a description that portrayed Enkanini settlement as a place for animals (*izilwane*), it is highly likely that it was a tactic by politicians to incite anger and protests against the municipality. However, the tactic indirectly was the opposite of the possibly desired effect, which naturalised and established the label to the community, since the status of nature reserve was regarded as an official one. While their graphic translation could also have partially influenced protests that later ensued, the designation *ihlathi* and *indawo yezilwane* was a psychological assault on whatever foothold shack dwellers felt that they had gained in urban society.

The kind of patronage relationships that emerged in this specific context fit what Appadurai (2013) called a 'quasi-corrupt participation in political life'. What was corrupted and twisted was the 'political epistemology' (Glaeser, 2011), whereby the Kayamandi-based politicians exploited the socially and politically situated and validated understanding of the shack dwellers' problems.

According to Glaeser (2011), people or groups construct their valid understandings based on three events mediated by engagement with others. The first is a recognition and interaction with individuals who seem to verify particular perceptions. In the context of Enkanini, the Kayamandi politicians and SANCO leaders agreed that the shack settlement part of greater Kayamandi had been excluded from the urban development processes of Stellenbosch. Glaeser argues that this recognition is further validated through interaction with individuals "deemed authorities" (24, 53). Engagements with such politically authoritative figures and the material world bring

out an interpenetration of interpretations of life worlds whereby the poor and their perceptions are “enmeshed in highly differentiated networks of authority relations with other human beings whose performance of their own understanding or direct verbal validation” of their understandings is endowed “... with validating force” (ibid: 24).

My argument is that these political authorities build the next dimension of validation of understanding through the second event of “collaboration” (Glaeser, 2011:24, 53), that is oriented towards acts considered useful. In the case of Enkanini, this collaboration manifested itself from the formation of the settlement when overcrowding was widespread and in the current cries for electricity that, generally, engendered solidarity with fellow Kayamandi residents.

The third element that institutionalises understanding of social worlds is ‘resonance’ whereby shared understandings are checked against “established knowledge, our values, feelings, desires, and skills” (Glaeser, 2011:25). However, the fact that politicians ‘validated’ statements about the nature reserve in a distortionary and manipulative way implies a complex web of symbolic violence.

Beyond the manipulative discourses of the Kayamandi politicians on the concerns of Enkanini residents, the SI was an actor that added another layer of sediment in the discussions which complicated residents’ own expression of their desired form of electricity. The SI had a latent interest in shack dwellers accepting the solar energy option. This interest was premised upon and would be manifested in the planned scaling up and rollout of the iShack Project to several residents of Enkanini. The iShack Project espoused an energy solution that had intrinsic merits only as far as the general demand for energy was concerned. However, when it came to the particularity of the form or source of energy, the iShack was idealised, incubated and developed in the ‘Silicon Valley’ of SI without the participation and consent of the community. At the meeting<sup>56</sup> between the municipality, the residents, the KDF and the SI, the institute elaborated the benefits of the solar energy alternative, but the residents resisted it. They perceived the solar energy option as a stumbling block to their demands and

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<sup>56</sup> On September 12, 2012, at the Office of the Speaker.

attainment for the grid-linked electricity. A representative from the SI then exclaimed, “I don’t understand why you people want grid electricity which is very expensive!”

Apart from the technical plausibility of the solar energy option, the fact that the SI had already secured funding from a renowned American philanthropic foundation to roll out the iShack Project at Enkanini, provided the context of the push for buy-in by the community. The developmentalist approach of the SI situated Enkanini as a laboratory and experimental space to ‘coproduce’ knowledge and solutions that would improve lives. The researchers embraced a discourse of slum upgrading that was greatly at variance with the demands of the ‘intended beneficiaries’ (shack dwellers). Though the iShack Project received positive worldwide publicity and admiration, it was problematised by the receiving community.

Although the symbolic violence by the municipality was not critiqued and deconstructed, Enkanini has been situated as either nonexistent or existing in a suspended sense. The nonexistence argument emanated from the *ihlathi* label and description that created illegibility and invisibility, thus removing Enkanini from the spatial creation of Stellenbosch. Where the existence of Enkanini was acknowledged, its existence was juxtaposed with and haunted by a court order. This court order was given life when shack dwellers were told by the municipality and the KDF that it first needed to be ‘scrapped’. In the context of the evoked court order, the existence of Enkanini portrayed bare life, which is ‘suspended life and death’ (Butler, 2004). The death aspect of Enkanini, read also as its nonexistence, was embodied in the ‘nature reserve’, while its life was that of an illegitimate but temporary settlement existing only because of the nonenforcement of a court order and the benevolence of the municipality.

The discourse of informal settlement emerging here makes it apparent that substantive urban citizenship – in the form of dignified urban services – is granted only to producers of durable objects of ‘brick and mortar’ in their urban built environments that are legitimised by the state. According to the state, built environments produced along the PSBO sequence are not only capable of producing such durable objects but are therefore also entitled to inclusion in the service provision and distribution networks of the municipality. In this sense, the temporality that is cast on many shack settlements is meant to disjoin them from the image of the city, of city-making processes and of

service delivery, thus placing them firmly in the camp category and disjunctive inclusion. This evolves through the nonaction by the municipality on the illegality of the Enkanini settlement and rudimentary service provision, which constitutes a relatively implicit inclusion and an explicit resistance by the same local government to the provision of electricity and expanding existing services.

Enkanini is a camp in the sense that the gross underprovision of urban services is defended by the local state on the grounds that Enkanini is an illegal settlement. The municipality put forward the aforementioned flimsy argument that the Stellenbosch Rate Payers Association would take it to court if it provided electricity to Enkanini. The irony of this excuse was that the municipality appeared not to fear being taken to court for nonimplementation of the court order granted more than five years ago by the same association. In the end, the municipality used this quasi-legal alibi as an excuse for not intervening in Enkanini through service delivery. The nature reserve issue touched on the noninclusion of Enkanini within the image of the human-made or built environment of Stellenbosch since it was included only as a raw and pristine area that was yet to be built. Lack of sensitivity to the usual dangers of frequent fire outbreaks in shack settlements due to the use of candles and resistance to the provision of electricity further portray an image of a camp where the state adopts a 'let live and let die' approach. Enkanini is also constructed as a camp in the sense that no laws are used by any of the stakeholders as grounds for improvement of the settlement, while law enforcement mechanisms are quickly put in place to quell any protests and marches by shack dwellers.

#### **4.7 Dignity as slum upgrading: Shack dwellers**

While the above descriptions portray discursive darts hurled against the standing of shack dwellers within urban society, it is also important to stress that there were no sustained or anecdotal rebuttals from the residents to assert themselves and their settlement as a legitimate part of Stellenbosch. This was in sharp contrast to their name and identity – *inkani*. Though the Ward 12 councillor indicated that 'Enkanini was there to stay', shack dwellers were conspicuous by their failure to rebut the issues of the court order and nature reserve. Such a situation was an indication of the extent to which shack dwellers had been beguiled by the government, Kayamandi-based



politicians and researchers. Enkanini residents were seized with the issue of the court order and nature reserve and often asked me what and how long it took to change the land use zone from nature reserve to residential use.

However, at the meeting on 24 October 2012 the same shack dwellers criticised KDF leaders for interfering in their attempts to engage directly with the municipality. The criticism was a response to Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini's claim that they, as politicians, had brought *intuthuko* (development) to Kayamandi. One Enkanini resident rejected this claim pointing at Enkanini and Kayamandi, saying, "*Yintuthuko amatyotyombe kuphela?*" ("Is it development when there are so many shacks?"). During a heated argument at the October 19, 2012 meeting between Enkanini leaders and the Speaker, the leaders had boldly asked him, "Would you live in Enkanini? Can your child live there?"

These sentiments constituted a defining moment in the discourse of viewing informal settlements as part of the city. While the arguments of Boonyabancha (2005); Graham (2006) and UN-Habitat (2002), elaborated in Chapter 2, seem to provide a powerful argument that even shack dwellers need to be recognised as *creators* of a city, it is also apparent from Enkanini shack dwellers's behaviour, that they had not fully recognised their own capacity to assert their rights to the city.

Although auto-constructors in Sao Paulo as well as various theorists have argued that shack settlements were a normal part of the city (Holston, 1991; 2008), one needs also to ask how the silence and ambiguity of shack dwellers on the narrative of city making from below be explained? The bold questions raised by residents to the Speaker capture the reason why Enkanini shack dwellers chose not to establish their demands for better services on the argument that by building their settlement, they have also built Stellenbosch 'from below'. This could be interpreted as a clear and significant disjuncture from tropes that present shack settlements as a 'normal' part of the city. My reading of the context of Enkanini was that the above statement by the residents was one of loathing the prevalence of shacks and not asserting oneself as well as one's living environment. This is a disjuncture from representations in the literature in which shack dwellers are proud of their settlements and have even appropriated the slum identity to construct their subaltern discourses as being part of the city.

In a conversation I observed, a leader from Langrug advised Enkanini leaders not to waste their time and efforts attacking the councillor but rather to focus on what they themselves could do as shack dwellers. This was a reference to the access to slum upgrading resources that were facilitated by SDI on the basis of ongoing community savings. The Langrug leader told the Enkanini leaders that “*uceba wenu ukak’ endlini futhi acham’ endlini*” (“your councillor poohs and pees in the house”) while Enkanini people have to walk some distance to access their communal toilets. This was a narrative of informal settlements built on the current spectre of indignity, which in Cape Town had by then been characterised by ‘pooh protests’ (Conradie, 2014), where residents dumped raw sewage in municipal offices and at the city’s international airport.

What emerged from my study was the frustrations of indignity overshadowing any form of city-making contribution that Enkanini’s shack dwellers could claim, to the extent that they were contemptuous of the ‘normal part of the city’, that is, informal settlements. Nonetheless, I am of the opinion that whether through displaying frustration against the indignity of the everyday life of shack dwellers or through asserting that shack settlements should be recognised as a legitimate part of the city, researchers should not lose focus of the issues at stake.

While auto-constructors in Sao Paulo fought for formal tenure as a way to regularise their self-initiated settlements, this might not be the same with other categories of the urban periphery such as the one under study. Throughout the period of my fieldwork, none of the shack dwellers expressed any feelings relating to tenure insecurity. Although the municipality taunted shack dwellers with the idea of eviction based on the court order, what mattered more to shack dwellers and was symbolic of being in Stellenbosch was improved services in general and electricity in particular. From another angle, extension of infrastructure services by the municipality to these ‘undesignated areas’ would constitute implicit legitimisation, regularisation and incorporation into the city.

In both examples of the urban ‘periphery’ in Latin America and South Africa, the common denominator is the sense of incompleteness in their state of inhabiting the city. What shack dwellers desire and imagine then is their ‘city yet to come’, which is ‘complete’. What then constitutes incompleteness and completion of their incorporation

into the city? Is it the nonrecognition of their settlements as being the normal part of the city, which therefore requires *formal* regularisation of tenure by the state to become incorporated? Or, alternatively, is it an up-close and cumulative reading of cumulative substantive rather than formal issues raised by shack dwellers in their everyday discourses and engagements with the state?

What emerged from this study and the evidence gathered leans towards the latter. While the municipality attempted to divert the discourses of upgrading of Enkanini towards a solution to the tenure and legitimacy of the settlement, shack dwellers perceived it differently. Their mantra was a call for the provision of denied service (grid electricity) and expansion of existing services such as water and sanitation. Nuanced within this perception of shack dwellers is an unspoken assumption that they are *already* inserted and incorporated into the city, though in an asymmetric way. Their constructed version and discourse of upgrading was provision of electricity and expansion of other services.

#### **4.8 Slum upgrading as ‘nonaction’ and ‘let die’: Municipality**

While the preceding descriptions illustrate how shack dwellers pronounced and asserted their concerns, it is appropriate to contrast these descriptions with how the municipality envisaged the upgrading process of Enkanini settlement. By refusing to provide electricity to a built environment created through a convolution of the conventional PSBO sequence, the local state attempts to assert its conventional spatial order. Literature on informal settlements in South Africa has highlighted that the state asserts this order through a discourse on the eradication of slums by a reproduction of the conventional spatial development process (PSBO) (Huchzermeyer, 2006; Klug and Vawda, 2009; Royston, 2009). From these theoretical representations, the attitude of the state is that of clearing the sites occupied by shack settlements and redeveloping them as vacant sites upon which the conventional spatial planning or PSBO can present its geometries of spatial organisation. However, this is not always the case. As emerged from the case under study, there are informal settlements built on sites that municipalities regard as ‘undevelopable’ for the urban low-income groups, on the basis of cost implications that cannot be recovered or passed on to the residents.



**Figure 5. A shack connected to a solar panel but denied access to a nearby electricity line, Photographed by author.**

The likely response of the state would be a two-pronged resistance. Firstly, the municipality refused to undertake *in situ* upgrading as this would legitimise and regularise the settlement, thus entitle its residents to improved service delivery. Secondly, the municipality did not push for the demolition and clearance of the shacks since it was neither willing nor inclined to make Enkanini a formal residential area or site of any other formal development. From this, what emerges is an engagement between shack dwellers and the municipality in which the latter has no commitment to anything. In this case, the PSBO sequence is asserted not as an intervention but as a ploy to resist and refuse a call for intervention in non-PSBO forms. An example of this is the additional argument based on the pretext of changing 'nature reserve' and

‘scrapping the court order’. In the post-enumeration meetings with the municipality, Enkanini residents were told that even if the designation were to change from nature reserve to residential area and the court order were to be scrapped, there was an additional need to undertake an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The Speaker claimed that the purpose of the EIA exercise would be to ascertain the feasibility of converting Enkanini into a formal residential settlement.

I interpret the arguments put forward by the municipality as a strategy to construct a discourse on the impossibility of intervening in Enkanini. This impossibility was even established in the minds of the Enkanini residents by the fact that they lacked the technical support to enable them to unpack and rebut all the technical excuses churned out by the municipality. On the same day that residents challenged the Speaker about the lack of dignity of living conditions in Enkanini, one of the Enkanini representatives – in the light of the layers of technical issues that the Speaker claimed needed to be addressed first before the municipality could bring in electricity – remarked, “*Sikhothana nethambo elingelanyama*” (lit: “We are fighting over a meatless bone”). Thus residents sensed the lack of commitment of the municipality.

Another image that illustrated the lack of commitment by municipalities to significantly connect informal settlements to their resource distribution networks was what I observed at George while Enkanini representatives were being shown electrical appliances in a shack supported by solar energy (see Figure 5). When the Enkanini delegation saw the shack provided with a solar panel while an electricity power line was adjacent to the same shack, they asked each other why the shack was being served with a solar system when there was a power line less than 10 metres from it. While their question was somewhat rhetorical, their perception reveals that slum upgrading is, to some extent, elusive. Efforts by municipalities to adopt alternative sources of energy say much about the disguised and persistent denial to connect shack settlements to the grid.

While it is argued in the literature that slum upgrading policy, practice and discourse in South Africa reflects a reproduction of the conventional spatial development sequence and a revanchist strategy to eradicate informal settlements, the reality in places such as Enkanini and the settlement visited by Enkanini (where the picture in Figure 5 was taken) reveals a different story. In fact, the local government is adopting

a liminal position within the dominant strategies of slum demolition and *in situ* upgrading. In this liminality, the municipality piggybacks on diversionary and digressive alternatives such as the solar energy proposals advanced by researchers, raises technical justifications such as the fictitious nature reserve and the need for an EIA while at the same time binding itself to a lifeless court order. Through these excuses and the said court order, the municipality diverts attention towards the need to engage the Department of Environmental Affairs to deal with the issues of the nature reserve and the EIA. Through these tactics, the municipality holds itself aloof from the immediate concerns of shack dwellers on the grounds that certain technical requirements need to be complied with first.

I interpret the eventual slum upgrading discourse of the municipality on Enkanini to mean nonaction. This is because the dominant strategies of slum demolition and *in situ* upgrading are premised on some action taken, whether this action improves the living conditions of shack dwellers or not. Hence, what emerges from the approach of the municipality in Enkanini is to maintain the *status quo* and leave current living conditions as they are. In other words, the lack of commitment by the municipality reflects abandonment. However, the municipality rebutted this by contending that it had done something for Enkanini, and ‘doing something’ was in the form of establishing an ‘Informal Settlements Unit within its organogram’.<sup>57</sup> This appears to be an aesthetic and distanced response to the call for material or substantive improvement in living conditions.

At the October 19, 2012 meeting, the speaker invited the municipality official who had accompanied the delegation that visited the solar powered shacks in George to ‘give feedback’. Incidentally, the feedback was the first formal one, implying that it had not even been given to the full council. The fact that it had not been tabled at the council meeting meant that any deliberation on that issue at the October 19 meeting had no binding implications for the municipality to commit itself to address the concerns of shack dwellers. The feedback, therefore, constituted an attempt by the municipality to make a symbolic gesture; indicating that the local state was interested in addressing the concerns of shack dwellers. Enkanini representatives rejected the approach as a digression and insisted that they came to the meeting to be informed ‘when the

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<sup>57</sup> A director and the Speaker at the August 28, 2012 and October 19, 2012 meetings respectively.



electricity was coming'. They refused to allow the George feedback to be given, asking why the municipality had waited for nearly a month to obtain the feedback. The refusal by Enkanini representatives is understandable as it was unclear how the feedback could translate into any decision as the meeting was not a convocation of the full council that could take any necessary decisions. The walkout from the meeting by residents signalled their refusal to be called upon to devote their energy to a 'meatless bone'.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

Huchzermeyer (2006; 2011; 2012; 2013) has criticised the revanchist approach of the state in addressing the slum challenges in South Africa, while MacLeod (2002) has emphasised the same argument globally. It is interesting to note that, while the literature has focused its criticism on the state's insistence on pursuing the PSBO sequence as the preferred housing development process, and despite its tendency 'to sweep away the poor' (Watson, 2009), the same urban poor do not always come forth to defend their allegedly (by officials) convoluted OBSP or OSBP spatial permutations. What emerges from the Enkanini case is that shack settlements are not a lauded and celebrated phenomenon but a problem to be addressed. Although the municipality showed its distaste for non-PSBO processes, its slum upgrading discourse was not focused on pursuing the PSBO sequence. Rather it was non-action. In conclusion, I can argue that the state used the tenets of its formal spatial development process as a means of abandoning the shack settlements and resisting any form of connection to resource distribution. By calling for the scrapping of the court order that no one was interested in pursuing, and also calling for the change of the somewhat fictitious nature reserve land use status as a way to remove illegalities, the municipality implicitly established nonactionable PSBO-related prerequisites. This then led to the maintainance of the Enkanini *status quo*.

Beyond the preconditions of the court order and the nature reserve status that were not basically understood by the shack dwellers and their leaders, the addition of the technical need for an EIA by the municipality was the last straw that broke the camel's back and created a sense of despondency and further alienation. The layer of issues raised by the municipality proved that it was pushing for the reproduction of the PSBO process in the built environment creation process. Rezoning and the EIA were



planning issues that the local state argued ought to be addressed before any service provision. However, the manner in which the issues were approached by the local state – through a combination of dishonesty and complicated technical requirements – proved that the PSBO argument was used merely to complicate the prospects of slum upgrading, leading to disguised nonaction, thus maintaining the *status quo*.

Based on the evidence in this chapter, the municipality regards slum upgrading as impossible. This impossibility is then managed through several dishonest and digressive tactics by asserting the need for many technical prerequisites. The prerequisites are also enmeshed with discourses that portray the informal settlement as an illegitimate built environment, as well as with problematic collaboration sought by politicians and researchers, discussed in Chapter 2. Instead of exposing the dishonesty of the municipality to the shack dwellers, politicians piggybacked on the despondency and frustrations of the urban poor to indirectly pursue their manoeuvres to unsettle the current town administration by inciting protest and making Stellenbosch ungovernable.

The role of researchers in the mobilisation of shack dwellers is also problematic as it tends to stand in the way of the struggle by the urban poor, while the former claim that their research products improve the lives of the latter. The researchers ‘invented’ their own contents of slum upgrading, which were not palatable to the shack dwellers. These inventions served as a dominant narrative in addressing the demands of shack dwellers. Their inventions were then ultimately piggybacked by the state to construct a palliative and digressive response to the demands of shack dwellers. In these problematic ‘collaborations’ with local politicians and researchers, shack dwellers constitute a relatively gullible and vulnerable group as the absence of the usual collaborators – researchers-*cum*-activists, human rights lawyers and other categories of civil society organisations working with the urban poor – leaves them exposed to the exploitation and dishonesty of politicians, the municipality and researchers. The dishonesty as well as the gullibility of Enkanini residents also revealed the extent to which shack dwellers were reduced to the status of visitors and denizens who were oblivious to and unable to expose the machinations of the state.

Shack dwellers projected their desire for dignified living when they asked for basic urban services around which urban citizenship is built (Miraftab and Wills, 2005). This

demand for dignified living was materialised in their protests and demands for extended services and electricity. They needed connection to these services so as to feel a sense of belonging to urban society through a connection to its service reticulation. This connection can be interpreted as access orientation and being in the 'city' in the Heideggerian sense. This sense of being-in-the-city emphasises inhabitation and dwelling "amid things, in relation to things in the world in such a way that one is from the start there *with* them, *near* them and *alongside* them, and not opposed to them" (ibid: 142, emphases in the original). Currently, toilets and water taps in Enkanini are far away from many shacks and shared by many, while in the formal settlements they are brought nearby, for the most part in the house. The existence of Enkanini settlement is projected as an aberrant, opposite of the norm. What emerges from this 'abandoned' state of shack dwellers are attempts, which are described in the next chapter, by shack dwellers to deconstruct the discourses of the municipality and responsibilise the local state towards meeting their demands.

## CHAPTER 5: SPACES AND PROCESSES OF REFUSAL

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the defining core of *inkani* – which means stubbornness, resistance and force – that revealed itself in the course of shack dwellers' encounters with the state, KDF politicians and researchers after 2011. The main argument of the chapter is that the transgressive acts of land invasion, resistance against eviction, relocation and later solar energy, as well as the subversive practices of elevating access to the grid so as to devalue the solar energy option constitute manifestations of a specific consciousness among the urban poor. This consciousness is seen to be intentional and built upon an established sense of self in terms of urban citizenship and that later enables the poor to engage autonomously with an authentic voice to press for their demands. The desired end constructed from the strides made by shack dwellers is that of strengthening a foothold in Stellenbosch through means that decongest people from the overcrowded Kayamandi and attract services into an informal settlement. The intentionality is embodied in the struggle for substantive urban citizenship whereby the urban poor not only exist or are present in urban society but dwell in it in the Heideggerian sense of having services that foster human flourishing and dignity (Graham, 2011), with the services being near at hand. Citizenship is seen as being constructed in Stellenbosch town that is identified as the town for the rich and academics while it also hosts not only a grossly overcrowded Kayamandi but also informal settlements evolving out of coexisting abject spaces. Stellenbosch emerges, like Lagos, as a continuum of 'dreamworld and catastrophe' (Marshall, 2014) where affluent and abject spaces coexist. In this coexistence, the poor are presented as 'spectators' (ibid) of privilege and flourishing or dignified human living.

In the abject spaces or 'camps of our times' (Isin and Rygiel, 2007), shack dwellers occupy

...spaces in which the intention is to treat people neither as subjects (of discipline) nor objects (of elimination) but as those without presence, without existence, as inexistent beings, not because they don't exist, but because their existence is rendered invisible and inaudible through abject spaces (184).

This chapter builds an argument that shack dwellers are participating in the unequal urban life not as spectators but as liminal agents within clientelism and overtly outside patronage to foster a material belongingness and secure improvement in their lives through service delivery. This argument is developed first by articulating how ‘better’<sup>58</sup> space was encroached to escape from the relatively inhuman living conditions of Kayamandi. Though negotiated through clientelism, the same space became a *de facto* human settlement that received services officially. This is interpreted as a genealogy of accretion of material benefits that are central to urban citizenship for the urban poor. Instead of presenting a romantic picture of the political agency of the poor, this chapter brings out a constricted picture whereby the incumbency effects of ANC pork barrelling of services to Enkanini were prematurely ended when the DA took leadership of the municipality. Extension of service provision at Enkanini stopped while the settlement demographically expanded. This created an overload on the existing few and initial services provided during the reign of the ANC. It also brought out the extent of the discrepancy between full services for some residents in formal areas and grossly inadequate services for residents in informal settlements.

This chapter brings out shack dwellers’ enthusiastic appropriation of and participation in a community-led survey to visibilise their plight. When the municipality remained indifferent, shack dwellers waged a double-pronged struggle against their ‘former’ patrons and the municipality to resist any endorsement of the solar power project as a means to respond to demands for the desired grid electricity. Conclusion will focus on interpreting resistance against eviction and relocation during 2007, autonomous collective action, transgressive acts against patrons and subversive resistance to solar energy as defining and enacting acts of citizenship that need to be broached in scholarly work on shack dwellers’ mobilisation. This scholarly attention, it is argued, needs to be projected as residents’ bricolage and flexibility to align themselves with ‘whomever is in power’ who can “work for [their] ends and not vice versa” (Appadurai, 2002a:29). By positioning themselves away from exploitative relationships with politicians and researchers, shack dwellers are interpreted as having an authentic voice that brings out moments of their transition from denizens to citizens.

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<sup>58</sup> Less congested and having privacy.

## 5.2 Genealogies and accretion of gains in urban citizenship

Historical moments of Enkanini provide glimpses of insurgencies that, although mediated by politicians, challenged the established order. The initial invasion of Erf 1 640/1 416, as discussed in Chapter 3, has a significance that is not readily apparent from the descriptions rendered in the existing literature. Lusanda, one of the leaders residing in the southern section of Enkanini (eZansi) and who participated in the initial invasion, related that the lawyer from Human Rights Lawyers who represented the invaders relented during the struggle to resist relocation. Speaking confidently and with pride in narrating this history, Lusanda indicated that the lawyer suggested, after the court decision authorising the municipality to relocate the invaders to Klapmuts, that it was a fair compromise for Enkanini residents to relocate as proposed by the municipality instead of risking demolition without any relocation.

My verification with the Human Rights Lawyers Stellenbosch office was unsuccessful as the staff members there had no recollection of the case and were more interested in their current constituency then – the farm workers. My review of their 2006–2008 records yielded nothing as there was no trace of the case in their archives. While the previous chapter identified the absence of legal and other technical representation in the struggle of Enkanini, its presence during the genesis of the settlement as well as through the legal battles in 2007 was not sufficiently supportive of the cause of shack dwellers. At that time, resistance to the local state was articulated by refusing to relocate and ignoring the advice of the lawyer to accept a compromise. Hence, the process of resistance began by a defiant refusal of relocation. Shack dwellers had two types of collaborations available to them – civil society and local politicians – and chose the one that worked for them. Even though politicians acted as patrons, it is analytically possible for agency and autonomy to be accorded to shack dwellers in the way in which they decided to ignore legal advice and trusted the support of political leaders.

Do these acts of defiance emerge from shack dwellers as claim makers seeking space that is not overcrowded and affords some privacy? The gains for citizenship in this context were entangled with support deriving from clientelism and during a period of disagreement with other civil society actors. How did these acts sustain a mobilisation of shack dwellers against urban processes that did not improve their undignified living spaces? The context of Enkanini downplayed the efficacy of the litigious process when

clientelistic relations existed. Contrary to the centring of litigious processes and projection of legal victories as gains for shack settlements as found in the literature (Huchzermeyer, 2011; Pithouse, 2007, 2009, 2012a, 2012b; Selmeczi, 2012a), this refusal and subsequent tenure of Enkanini residents were built on clandestine relationships of clientelism. This research actually found the role of legal aid to be weak in the resistance against relocation. What emerged from this phase of Enkanini was how the differences in the collaboration between shack dwellers and NGOs were managed. For instance, the history of the South African Housing People's Federation (SAHPF) indicated that SDI and People's Dialogue differed with the SAHPF's leadership in Victoria Mxenge (Philippi, Cape Town) on rotating leaders so as to build horizontal relationships and deepen democracy. The end of this difference was the splitting of the federation in that community, and the continuation of relations between the section of the federation that supported SDI philosophy and SDI in a partnership that exists up to today. The section of Victoria Mxenge that resisted SDI philosophy disappeared from the literature as interest was focused on those who conformed.

The argument here is not to de-emphasize the collaboration between shack dwellers and civil society but to emphasise how shack dwellers can defy civil society and lean on clientelism. Actually, this research shows that the absence of civil society collaborations can bring on board support that can facilitate slum upgrading. For instance, the abdication of a seemingly apolitical SDI from the politically volatile conflicts among the KDF, the SI and the municipality in Enkanini is problematised and explained. Civil society tends to depoliticise the mobilisation of shack dwellers. Doing that in contexts such as Enkanini is schizophrenic as the mobilisation of shack dwellers leveraged the same political contours when they seemed to work in their favour and shrugged them off when they became impediments. Therefore, civil society sometimes failed to read the dynamics of relations in shack settlements because it was averse to politically unstable circumstances such as Enkanini.

When the invaders therefore eventually remained on Erf 1 416, they consolidated their toehold and ruptured the established PSBO spatial development sequence as well as its envisaged spatial organisation and order. In addition to withstanding violence from the municipality's Law Enforcement Unit and the hired Red Ants, shack dwellers also defied the legal advice of their lawyers. These elements of defiance reflected *inkani* that was deployed by shack dwellers in a bid to decongest the overcrowded

Kayamandi. The fact that Kayamandi-based ANC politicians warned the municipality about the risk of the escalation of violence by shack dwellers if the municipality went ahead to implement the court order implied that the agency of shack dwellers was not overshadowed by their patrons. In all these alliances built by informal settlement residents, they still retained some autonomy that later translated into an orientation towards what mattered to them.

Appadurai (2002a) observed these autonomous spaces in the shack dwellers' bricolage and flexibility to align themselves with 'whomever is in power' and who can "work for its ends and not vice versa" (29). Despite the so-called illegal residence of Enkanini, as projected by municipal discourse, three developments provided the shack dwellers with gains that were crucial for partially establishing their urban citizenship. These relate to the *de facto* tenure, the initial provision of services and the political significance of Enkanini in the local government politics of Stellenbosch. The nonenforcement of the court order led to an unofficial 'granting' of tenure. This has actually been used as a legal tool by lawyers defending shack dwellers when their settlements are threatened by demolitions to pave the way for urban renewal projects. When municipalities argue that no official recognition was conferred on these settlements, the duration of stay and noneviction by the municipalities have been used in courts (Mahadevia, 2011).

As alluded to in Chapter 3, few services in the form of communal water taps and toilets were provided at Enkanini. Arputham (2012:27) argues that water and sewerage pipes installed in informal settlements "... show how well established the settlement is and how it has legal services". When informal settlements are read as illegal or nonexistent and shack dwellers are situated as noncitizens because they do not have an address, the mere presence of these existing services is a rebuttal to revanchist claims and practices. Since every public water tap and toilet has an "... official address[es] – a district, an area" so "...it means that the settlement too has an official address. When the government says you do not have any documentation, we can show how many [services] we have and these have addresses" (ibid: 27).

However rudimentary they were, the provision of services by the ANC-led municipality defined the extent to which the formation of Enkanini constituted a construction of residents' own 'invented' space. Having services brought into a settlement with a court



order hanging over it became a significant achievement in the struggle to inhabit Stellenbosch. The invention of their own space by shack dwellers was also a refusal to inhabit the urban space through conventional processes that were preceded by relatively costly and displacing planning and service provision stages. The conventional processes displace or 'sweep away the poor' through their embedded neoliberal and cost recovery mechanisms that are beyond the affordability limits of the poor, hence they are exclusionary.

The formation of Enkanini was a refusal to inhabit the urban space within the prescribed categories of settlement development. It emerged as a different way of seeing and knowing than the local state, as well as refusing to accept that service provision and dignity can only be possible in settlements formed in a particular sequence. Put differently, the formation of Enkanini was an antithesis of Scott's (1998) *Seeing Like a State*.

In one of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century social engineering projects described by Scott, the Prussian state in present-day Germany removed the undershrub and other trees in natural forests so as to grow and symmetrically align particular homogenous and economically valuable forests. This proved a failure as the forests died and efforts to reintroduce plant diversity through importing spiders and creating birdhouses were fruitless. While not projecting urban spatiality as natural and some spatial forms as undershrub, the lessons learnt from Scott's work are the negative consequences of marginalising non-PSBO spatial forms from service delivery.

The sheer number of shack dwellers also led to the adjustment of the ward boundaries in the 2011 elections, thus establishing them as a formidable political constituency. Initially, the area currently occupied by Enkanini settlement used to fall under Ward 11. According to municipal records, Ward 11 had 3 060 voters after the new boundaries. Seeing that the results of the 2012 enumeration of Enkanini showed that at least 3 110 residents were over the age of 20, it is highly likely that if the boundaries had not been adjusted, the then pro-ANC adult population of Enkanini would have swayed Ward 11 to the ANC. Currently, Ward 11 and Ward 12 are represented by the DA and the ANC respectively. Ward 11 mainly consists of the affluent suburb of Papegaaiberg, whose residents are mostly white. Given that the seesaw of DA and ANC leadership from 2000 up to 2009 was premised upon a hung council in which

one ward councillor was always a kingmaker, it is highly likely that gerry-mandering was the basis of adjusting the ward boundaries. This underscores the significance of Enkanini in the electoral politics of Stellenbosch. Therefore, the ward boundaries were probably manipulated to sustain the political dominance and continuity of DA representation in Papegaaiberg, while Enkanini residents were to pursue continuous and improved service provision based not on *ad hoc* political reasoning but on materialistic and substantive grounds of dignity.

The shack dwellers' verbal attack on the KDF in 2012, asserting that "*asifun' ipolitik apha*" ("we don't want politics here"), was resistance not only to mere participation in electoral politics but also to non-reciprocal political relationships. "We don't want politics here" was an utterance emerging from the context of vulnerability to tendencies towards exploitative and non-reciprocal vote bank politics, especially considering Enkanini's historical identity as someone's 'child' (see Chapter 3). The rejection of the KDF was a surprise to the Kayamandi-based ANC politicians and patrons who thought that their facilitation of service provision in 2008 had forged power relations that would endure through time. However, the Enkanini of 2012 was one that sought continuity in the deployment of resources into the settlement even if there were discontinuities in the executive administration of the municipality.

The rudimentary service provision of 2008 did not go far enough as a clear red line on the provision of electricity was asserted and maintained by the municipality up to the end of the fieldwork for this research. The redlining created boundaries between Enkanini and the rest of greater Kayamandi, particularly the abutting neighbourhoods of Zone O and Snake Valley. The boundaries of service provision established Enkanini as a deprived enclave. The deprivation could not have been because it was an informal settlement since Zone O was also an informal settlement, although it had electricity and better water and sanitation services.<sup>59</sup> As will be explained later, this continued refusal to extend services to Enkanini was a political tactic of the municipality meant to avoid inciting older but still neglected sections of Kayamandi and elsewhere in Stellenbosch.

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<sup>59</sup> Zone O is an old informal settlement in Kayamandi that was formed from the initial deconcentration of households from hostels.

Self-connection in Enkanini, through *izinyoka* (see Chapter 1), became a defiant and puncturing act as well as a covert resistance against marginalisation from this crucial urban service. The defiance evolved through connections to relatives in Zone O and Snake Valley since 2008. Before clashes with some Zone O residents and the SAPS begun, the *izinyoka* owners were paying for the *informal* connections. When those arrangements were blocked by the municipality, defiance was raised to another risky level when the redlined shack dwellers made illegal direct connections to the main electricity distribution lines and underground cables at the neighbouring Kayamandi Secondary School. In addition to the fact that the connections were illegal, they were also a form of electricity theft. However, besides the illegalities, *izinyoka* was another mechanism by which the established order of service distribution was circumvented and services were accessed.

The efforts of shack dwellers to connect themselves could be interpreted as a rejection of the service boundaries between Enkanini, Zone O and Snake Valley. Residents from the neighbouring areas as well as from Kayamandi were friends and family members of those in Enkanini, and all of the individuals had ties reaching into the Eastern Cape. Informal electricity connections constituted a refusal to render Enkanini as an excluded enclave near serviced abutting settlements. Seen differently, self-connection by Enkanini residents was an apparently unconscious strategy to assert continuity and connection between themselves and the rest of Kayamandi. This is because they were relatives and friends who called each other *mkhaya*, meaning home boy and home girl.

As described in Chapter 1, some Zone O residents who experienced power cuts due to blown-up transformers blamed those households connecting *izinyoka* to their residences. This resulted in battles between Enkanini residents and Zone O residents when the latter pulled down and confiscated the cables of the former as a way to force the removal of *izinyoka*. Although a number of Enkanini residents still retained their relations with their family members and friends in Zone O (where they charged their cell phones all the time), the banning of *izinyoka* connections between the two settlements by the municipality made Zone O a better place. The hatred and confiscation of cables translated into Zone O having much better services than Enkanini. This could be part of the social queuing processes in Kayamandi whereby some sections of the poor residents who, having lived in the township for a long time,

from before Enkanini was formed, became uncomfortable when Enkanini received greater attention. The attention was observed in the process of enumeration and its significance in terms of what the municipality might do thereafter. The likely tensions emerging from Enkanini possibly jumping the queue were eased when the municipality maintained its indifference even after enumeration had been completed in August 2012. Chapter 4 explained how the municipality ignored the enumeration results and their connection to residents' demands for electricity when solar energy became the central and divisive issue between Enkanini residents and the KDF.

At first residents engaged the municipality through meetings that had the blessing of the Kayamandi-based ANC politicians. After the enumeration exercise had failed to yield the expected responses from the municipality, shack dwellers took to the streets, the municipality's Corridor Offices in Kayamandi and the municipal Council Chambers to demand an immediate response now after being *known*. The Council Chambers and Corridor Offices hosted the meetings where residents sought to hear what the municipality planned to do given that the 'constraints' of illegibility had now been addressed by enumeration. It was after they had sensed noncommitment from the municipality and when the patrons had endorsed the solar energy alternative that Mathanzima, Andile and other residents thought it was time for the community to formulate its own autonomous mobilisation, which was mostly in the form of street protests.

These arenas and spaces – streets, the municipality's Corridor Offices in Kayamandi and the municipal Council Chambers – were laden with legalities of access and conduct that attempted to control shack dwellers. The streets were used as a stage to protest, march and express Enkanini residents' claims of being excluded by the state, but prior police clearance was required. The protest marches of Enkanini residents on October 18 and November 15, 2012 were deemed illegal by the municipality and the SAPS as they had not been authorised. Shack dwellers saw no need to seek authorisation. Stellenbosch newspapers such as *Eikestadnuus* (2012a; 2012b), *Boland Gazette* (Enkanini wants electricity, 2012) and *Die Matie* (Unlawful protest disrupts Stellenbosch streets, 2012) brought out reports presenting the street demonstrations as 'illegal' and as being merely the usual service delivery protests that were taking place in other parts of the country as well. During the demonstrations, town centre shops on Bird Street and on the ground floor of Eikestad Mall would

quickly close and fortify their entrances in order to prevent possible looting. However, the Enkanini residents peacefully conducted their 'illegal' marches, brandishing a simple slogan of "*Sifunu'mbane*" ("We need electricity") written on small khaki cardboard boxes. They were only Enkanini residents. Women dominated these protests by dancing in front of law enforcement troops to register the daily inconveniences and risks that they experienced by using candles, wood and kerosene. The law officers would barricade the roads.

The Council Chambers embodied a significant proportion of the engagements between Enkanini residents and the municipality. Three meetings were held in the Council Chambers on July 26, August 28 and October 19, 2012. The speaker convened two meetings in his boardroom on September 11 and 13, 2012. I had the opportunity to participate, as an observer, in all the meetings that were convened at the Council Chambers between July and October 2012. Enkanini representatives would put on the audio headsets for translation services in scenes that portrayed idealised state-citizen engagements. These engagements occurred when the municipality now *knew* Enkanini after the enumeration results initiated by the SDI had been submitted to the municipality. Other meetings between the two parties were held at the municipality's Corridor Offices, Kayamandi Secondary School and the SI in Lyndoch. The Corridor Offices were used mostly when the meetings were arranged by the councillor or SANCO leaders while Lyndoch was the location of the SI offices. Only one meeting was held at Kayamandi Secondary School to discuss the power cuts at the school that were caused by *izinyoka* from Enkanini.

From the time of the invasion, shack dwellers successfully resisted relocation, attracted provision of services to their settlement and undertook performative acts to raise awareness of their slum life and its challenges. These processes of encroachment into less congested urban space, securing initial services and seeking better service brought out genealogies of urban citizenship. However, the attitudes of the municipality towards Enkanini and its claims for better services prevailed despite its officials' new knowledge about the settlement. Of particular concern was state indifference in light of the knowledge that one toilet and one communal water tap were shared by 72 and 139 residents respectively. Instead of responding to these needs, the local state advocated the provision of solar energy to Enkanini, which shack dwellers found to be out of sync with their demands.

In the genealogies of urban citizenship described in this section, the episodes or moments of the urban poor's occupancy urbanism and their claim making had the transformative potential to rupture the processes of abandonment and invisibility and to enact the poor as meaningful members of the polis. Key routes for enacting this membership include appropriating slum and slum upgrading narratives through constructing their own discourse and legibility as well as being counted in decisions related to proposed interventions in their community.

### **5.3 Refusing to be ignored: Exposing and responsabilising**

Regarding the issue of provision of solar energy as a substitute for the grid-based option demanded by shack dwellers, Enkanini residents disrupted the terrain of the planned rollout of the solar energy option to the extent that its implementation was stalled. When two politicians from Kayamandi gave the SI the 'go ahead' to roll out the solar project during a meeting at SI on October 4, 2012, Enkanini leaders and residents present protested and challenged the Kayamandi politicians on why they were making decisions against the wishes of the community. The shack dwellers present at that meeting later successfully managed to mobilise most residents of Enkanini to resist the implementation of the solar project. At that and other successive meetings, the SI mooted the option of implementing the solar project elsewhere if Enkanini residents remained persistent in their resistance. Instead of relenting and cooperating, shack dwellers did the opposite and ignored the threat of forfeiting the rollout.

At the residents' general meeting on October 9, 2012, Lusanda was rejected as one of the leaders after it had emerged that he was clandestinely cooperating with the KDF politicians to push for the rollout of the solar energy project. Mathanzima claimed that Lusanda was compiling names of residents who had consented to receive solar energy. In my conversations with Lusanda after the general meeting, he claimed that a 'bigger proportion of residents have embraced the solar option and want it'. This statement was in line with the opinion and interest of the KDF politicians that had been expressed on the evening of October 24, 2012. The opinion seemed to be derived from Lusanda's longstanding relations with Mr. Sigguma-Nkungwini, which resulted in his unpopularity amongst the Enkanini residents.

The indirect political influence for the rollout to go ahead was in stark opposition to the reiterated sentiment of most residents that solar energy should not be mentioned in

any future engagements with the municipality. This sentiment was expressed at a meeting with the municipality, SDI/CORC and the SI on October 10, 2012 at the Corridor Offices.

The resistance against the SI, the municipality and the paternalistic role of politicians who decided to overlook the priorities of the residents reflected the usual slogan of shack dwellers: “Nothing for us without us.” This slogan had been appropriated by AbM (Wilson, 2009) and SDI (Bradlow, 2010) but evolved differently at Enkanini. In Durban it gained the support of the leftist academics whose collaboration was depicted as demobilising and disempowering (Böhmke, 2010; Walsh, 2008). Walsh shows that by acquiescing to the rebranding of its demands from housing and land to community voice, AbM was transformed into a movement of therapeutic citizens who fashioned themselves as per the dynamics of their academic-*cum*-activist partners.

In the SDI, however, the same slogan has been used, but as an alternative method of action in order to partner shack dwellers and municipalities. In this SDI alternative, the resultant slum upgrading priorities were inclusive of the poor in the supposedly coproduced planning processes of service delivery (Bolnick and Bradlow 2010; Bradlow, 2010).

This study has broached a different narrative of how Enkanini residents espoused the same ethos even while Kayamandi-based politicians also strategically appropriated the slogan in their asserted roles as ‘fathers’ and gatekeepers of Enkanini. Along this wrestling between autonomy and patronage is the formulation of slum upgrading around solar energy, which lacked the effective participatory input of residents at large. Hence, the resistance against it by residents but its endorsement by politicians against the residents’ will.

The resistance to solar energy had a twofold outcome that was central to the articulation of shack dwellers’ own forms of substantive citizenship: keeping the municipality at the centre by refusing a palliative response and critiquing the imposition of an alternative without their participation and consent and against their will.

*Firstly*, what is apparent is that the persistent refusal to accept the solar intervention would lead to nonintervention, as threatened by the SI. However, it should be noted that it was the municipality’s deep but covert interest that the solar energy alternative



should be rolled out in Enkanini, as this would create the impression that at least something was being done in response to the needs of the shack dwellers. Beyond this, the way in which this alternative was brought to them did not mirror any mutual engagement but illustrated a ‘Hobson’s choice’ of either take it or leave it. Shack dwellers viewed the solar energy option as a detour from their struggle for electricity because it projected a palliative energy solution.

This is a clear parallel with the central issues in the ‘toilet wars’ in Khayelitsha (Cape Town) from 2010 up to 2011. Khayelitsha Informal settlement residents had wanted permanent flush toilets while the city government wanted to replace the controversial bucket system with unenclosed portable flush toilets. In the same vein, Enkanini shack dwellers were made to accept a palliative alternative or have nothing. In the toilets case, the Human Rights Commission and the High Court found the toilets to be an affront to and a violation of human dignity and privacy (Robins, 2014). So in that respect the parallel with Enkanini residents’ rejection of solar energy systems fails.

As explained in Chapter 4, Stellenbosch Municipality also put forward technicist arguments of illegality and other prerequisites, to deny the residents’ demand for grid-linked electricity. To the residents of Enkanini, the solar energy option was a palliative response and a tactic by the municipality to divert their call for grid-linked electricity as well as a ploy to divert their efforts and anger away from the local state as the SI would be the frontline provider.

As a result, the shack dwellers managed, by resisting solar energy, to still hold accountable and responsabilise the municipality for meeting their demands. Faced with unremitting resistance against the solar energy option, it was difficult for the municipality to still construct another cosmetic argument that it ‘had done something’<sup>60</sup> at Enkanini. Therefore, the eventual nonimplementation of the solar project kept the municipality in the spotlight to address, *inter alia*, the form of energy demanded by shack dwellers.

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<sup>60</sup> According to the Speaker of the municipality, the creation of an office for informal settlements in its organogram was a gesture and evidence that something had been done for the shack dwellers. This cosmetic argument can be compared to DA leader Hellen Zille’s response to the toilet wars and protests. She argued that even if the DA administration in Cape Town was criticised for providing the rejected toilets, the provision of free cleaning of these toilets was unequalled by any ‘local authorities anywhere in the world (let alone in South Africa)’ (Zille, 2014).

Although the SI had threatened to take the iShack Project elsewhere if shack dwellers maintained their resistance, the SI had its own covert and deep interest in rolling out the solar energy project in Enkanini. During my conversations with the SI, its staff and researchers asserted their 'bigger' role in Enkanini and claimed that the SI had made the first footprint in Enkanini ahead of SDI. This assertion was premised on the fact that the iShack prototypes were installed in 2011 before the invitation for SDI to facilitate the enumeration process. However, this assertion was aimed at making sure that any interventions by SDI would be built around the SI's solar energy project. This was important for the SI because it had already been awarded US\$250 000 to scale up the iShack models built from the prototypes (Swilling, 2012). The SI's waste management project was also under implementation at Enkanini but it was abundantly clear that the iShack was the flagship project. The worldwide visibility and messaging of the SI's work at Enkanini was built on the iShack Project. Hence, I can maintain that slum upgrading for Enkanini became an issue that the SI and SDI were defining in divergent ways. The SI was emphasising green and sustainability issues concerning energy and waste management. Solar energy was found to avoid waste and to be cheaper for the urban poor while other ways were found of composting some food waste so that it could be used in food gardens (Von der Heyde, 2014). Conversely, SDI sought to facilitate and augment emancipatory rituals that would position shack dwellers at the centre of slum upgrading while also building relations between communities and the municipality. The divergence between the two organisations was that SDI's rituals of enumeration, mapping and re-blocking often paved the way for reticulation of services in the same way as in the formal neighbourhoods. Solar energy was not an issue to SDI as it was for the SI.

*Secondly*, shack dwellers' resistance also unearthed and exposed an attempt to implement an energy solution about which no details whatsoever had been disclosed to them. The knowledge of the existence of these hidden details worked to buttress the resistance of shack dwellers. For instance, details of the solar intervention only unfolded during a visit to George to observe shack settlements supported by solar energy. The meeting was suggested by the SI, but the municipality was expected to support it in terms of transport. The SI and the municipality wanted to use the excursion as a way to persuade Enkanini residents who had been resisting the solar energy alternative.

The 'delegation' to George consisted of selected Enkanini representatives, municipal officials, KDF members, SANCO members, councillors and I. My participant observation during this trip provided rich evidence about the relations between all the stakeholders. The SDI members were absent. The team from the SI went ahead of everyone, and we found them already there. As soon as we had arrived after midday, a presentation on solar energy technologies was made by an official from the company that partnered with the SI in developing solar energy solutions. It was at that time that the Enkanini representatives were told that the grid was not suitable for rural and informal settlements.

Initially, the shack dwellers were told by the SI partners who were developing solar energy solutions that the solar energy solutions being designed operated only with direct current (DC). Though this aspect was plausible on the basis of arguments about energy savings and sustainability, it would place a burden on shack dwellers. Almost all conventional household appliances use alternating current (AC), and shack dwellers who were part of the delegation to George were told that they needed to convert their appliances to DC at their own expense. Enkanini women who were part of the delegation enquired which appliances were supported by the planned solar energy in their settlement. They were told by the company representative – and also saw it for themselves – that only a small flat-screen television, lighting, a cellphone charger and a radio could be supported by the planned solar technologies. The television could only be viewed for a limited number of hours (7:00 pm – 10:00 pm). Furthermore, they were told that it would cost R2 500 (US\$312.50) to convert their fridges from AC to DC. In addition, they were informed that the current small panels that were used for the company's solar energy technology could only support a television and lights, and that a refrigerator and other appliances would require an upgrade, which entailed buying extra or bigger panels. The Enkanini representatives' disapproving faces, as well as the whispers in isiXhosa amongst themselves, immediately reflected their discontent.

Apart from the shock of the hidden costs associated with the solar energy project, the women remarked that they needed a system that could support a stove, an iron and heaters. It was clear to them that this was not possible, given the panels that were used for demonstration. The appliances that they envisaged using were central to their living spaces and were symbolic of their envisioned life. What also became clear to

them was the extent of information asymmetry that surrounded the planned solar energy intervention, while all along they had been informed by the municipality and the SI that the iShack was ‘ready for rollout’.<sup>61</sup> Hence, their questions and attempts to align the solar energy technology with their envisioned modernities challenged the solar energy discourse by cracking open its undisclosed elements.

The representative of the solar company concluded his presentation by saying, “Stellenbosch Municipality can then inform us which of the systems they are interested to get for Enkanini solar intervention.” Given this statement as well as other instances of information asymmetry, the resistance of shack dwellers to solar energy was understandable. For instance, the SI did not initially disclose to shack dwellers that its rollout had some cost implications and that its capacity was limited to only 100 beneficiaries out of 2 419 households in the settlement!

More details emerged at the September 13, 2012 meeting between Enkanini residents, municipal officials and representatives of the KDF and the SI. At the meeting, the manager of the iShack Project further clarified that the SI first needed to install five demonstrations for residents to see before scaling up the installation to 100 shacks. While the five demonstrations or prototypes were crucial for experimental purposes, residents complained that this would cause divisions in the community. During the George visit, the SI indicated that after the rollout to the 100 beneficiaries, the municipality would *complement* its effort with resources to ensure universal coverage. However, the municipality had never made such an undertaking and the SI was perceived as being fully responsible for the solar project. This perception was reinforced by the knowledge that the SI had secured funding from abroad for the upgrading of Enkanini. The remark by the official from the solar company also revealed that, at the time of our visit, the SI had not yet given the company the necessary specifications to put together the kind of solar energy technology needed for Enkanini. Enkanini residents were also informed that the *planned* solar energy system would require residents to make prepayments for the solar energy units – an additional aspect that had not been previously disclosed to or understood by the shack dwellers.

As a result of all the unclear elements of the solar energy intervention, the shack dwellers articulated their resistance to this energy alternative. The interesting parts of

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<sup>61</sup> The Speaker at the meeting in the Council Chambers on August 28, 2012.

their overt and covert resistance were the remarks during the journey to George. Along the way to and while at George, the travelling delegation was lavishly fed, and the Enkanini residents jokingly remarked, “*Kumele sity’ imali kamasipala*” (“We must eat the municipality’s money”). While the meals from renowned restaurants presented a temptation for them to be tamed, they sustained their resistance against the solar energy project and even pushed further their demand for grid-based electricity. The resistance exposed and disrupted two aspects of the planned solar energy intervention that were problematic to them.

Firstly, the whole solar energy intervention emerged as an experiment and many of its elements were never disclosed to the community. The only residents who were fully aware of the stakes were the five residents coopted by the SI since 2011 as ‘coresearchers’ and ‘leaders of Enkanini’. It later emerged that they were not leaders as they failed to promote the idea of the iShack Project and to mobilise the buy-in, and their interest in the iShack Project seemed to be centred on the cash allowances that they received due to their engagement with the SI.

Secondly, shack dwellers disrupted the palliative and divisive effects that the solar energy intervention could have brought. It was seen as palliative because the women who went to George felt that the solar energy system fell far short of supporting electrical appliances that mirrored their imagined modernities. While resisting the solar energy option, they continued to tap into the grid through *izinyoka*. This was a clear vote for their choice of energy. It was also a disruption of processes that were transforming their settlement into a laboratory in ways that were not associated with their perceived needs.

From the woman who was ‘wearyed’ by journalists on the global showcasing of the iShack Project (see Chapter 3) and Enkanini residents’ perception of or resistance to the solar energy option, it can be concluded that the project was not accommodated. The spokesperson for the municipality also informed the media that Enkanini residents were not in favour of the solar option (Du Plessis, 2014). The initial installation of the iShack prototypes was possible through the agency of the five ‘coresearchers’ who actively transformed the intervention into employment. These coresearchers were residents of Enkanini. Beyond this, the iShack Project did not come to the attention or feature among the priorities of Enkanini, except to emerge as a stumbling block to the

form of energy demanded by shack dwellers. Chapter 6 will explain what happened to the iShack Project.

I interpret the resistance to solar energy as a reflection of consciousness among shack dwellers of what matters to their envisioned modernities. This consciousness embodied the quest for some form of belonging that was transformative to their lives and the living conditions in their settlement. This consciousness was acted out through transgressive practices that defied politicians, resistance embodied in their autonomous mobilisation to push forward their own version of demands, and subversive tactics that exposed and critiqued the solar energy option. Shakya and Rankin (2008) interpret transgression of and nonconformity to development intervention by the poor as diagnostics of power (cf. Abu-Lughod, 1990) and political agency that resist subjectivity to the dominant practices of development practitioners. Shack dwellers elevated their interest in the grid above sustainability arguments for solar energy. They also elevated their interest in achieving substantive citizenship over the ANC's larger political projects of wrestling the DA in the municipality.

#### **5.4 Visibility: Transforming enumeration and Slum Dwellers International rituals and disrupting manipulations**

In addition to the reactive practices in the form of resisting the tactics of the municipality and the SI, shack dwellers participated in a community-led exercise to build and increase their visibility. As explained in Chapters 3 and 4, the self-enumeration exercise was mooted after the municipality had repeatedly used the pretext of not knowing the demographic size of Enkanini informal settlement. That projection of being unknown formed the bedrock of the excuses by the local state and sustained a process of abandonment. The context of the enumeration exercise was crucial in understanding how shack dwellers embraced and transformed it. Shack dwellers had been staging protests since November 2011 in order for the municipality to improve their living conditions, mainly through improved service delivery. Furthermore, they particularly wanted to be *directly engaged in prioritising interventions* in their settlement.

Prior to the commencement of enumeration, Enkanini residents learnt that their councillor and Ward Committee had prioritised water and sanitation programmes for

the Integrated Development Programme budget of Stellenbosch. Facilitated by the leadership of the councillor, the municipality had already completed the installation of concrete slabs around the communal water taps at Enkanini. The slabs made the area around the water taps solid as it had been swampy, muddy and inconvenient before the installation of the slabs. The communal nature of the facilities also made them vulnerable to neglect. It was at first difficult to understand the extent to which Enkanini residents despised and dismissed the councillor's contribution to their settlement in view of the fact that the slabs as well as the next planned water and sanitation improvement projects clearly constituted relative improvements. The councillor was insulted on many occasions, and she even feared to meet the residents at Enkanini. From an initial observation by an outsider, it appeared to be mere bigotry of mainly male residents against a female councillor. However, the reasons for their attitude later became increasingly clear during the numerous meetings and my daily conversations with them.

The residents said, during the general meetings and within the conversations held around the same meetings, that their major interest was to make life better and more bearable and emphatically stated that this better life hinged on *umbane* (electricity). They articulated the subject of electricity in ways that critically linked it to their life spaces in the settlement. These include *izimokolo* (taverns), household health and safety, and community safety and security, especially in the evenings. Taverns are local enterprises that need fridges for beer and beef, and tavern owners have to spend money on buying bulk ice if their informal connections are cut. The nonavailability of electricity made households rely heavily on alternative energy sources, such as kerosene, wood and gas. This further limited their ability to use appliances such as electric stoves, fridges, television sets and irons. Few households relied on gas, and the use of kerosene or paraffin, candles and wood by the majority posed a common risk in informal settlements, namely fire outbreaks. For instance, the enumeration results showed that for cooking, 81%, 9% and 1% of households used kerosene, gas and wood respectively while 76%, 13% and 1% used kerosene, candles and gas for lighting respectively. For heating, 78%, 11% and 1% of households used kerosene, coal or wood, and gas respectively.

As a resident put it, whether cooking was done inside or outside the shack was a good indication of the social profile of the household. He said that only those using gas



cooked inside their shack and they were considered to be better off, while those using kerosene, wood and coal often cooked outside their shacks and were considered worse off. It was necessary for those cooking with kerosene and coal or wood to do so outside the shack as the inconvenience of smoke and the risk of fire were perceived to be greater. However, the majority (76%) of households were vulnerable to fire risks associated with the use of candles as lighting always had to be inside the shack. Residents also envisioned that access to electricity would render their community and roads illuminated at night, which could deter potential criminals and enhance safety and security.

While these articulations of priorities by shack dwellers differed greatly from the water and sanitation improvements prioritised by the councillor and the Ward Committee, two aspects emerged as points of refusal. Firstly, the councillor and the Ward Committee chose to pursue noncontentious interventions that did not count in the eyes of the community. The central role of electricity in the demands of the community revealed forms of substantive citizenship through the improvement of the material living conditions of shack dwellers. Secondly, the claim for electricity was actually a demand for what the municipality was unwilling to provide. This unwillingness can be explained from different angles. Given the portrayal of patronage in Enkanini in Chapter 3, the DA leader in the municipality's executive leadership did not want to give in to demands associated with the ANC. The DA read ANC manoeuvres as laced with efforts to make the Western Cape ungovernable. Additionally, because the municipality and the SI had an ongoing partnership prior to the enumeration (Swilling, 2012), it became a strategic option that would bring about interaction between the iShack Project and the community. The iShack had no emotive issues attached to it like the grid, and the municipality was unwilling to address the demands of Enkanini 'ahead of long standing informal or hostel dwellers in Kayamandi', fearing that this 'could cause serious community unrest' (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2013).

On these two particular points of refusal, shack dwellers were stating what they wanted rather than what the SI, the municipality and politicians thought they wanted. The context of enumeration highlights a very significant aspect. Though the ritual of enumeration has been 'owned' by SDI globally as a way of knowledge production, self-empowerment and engagement with the state, the Enkanini community

accommodated the enumeration exercise in a way that transformed the ritual into a means of addressing the immanent issues that were already the mantras of Enkanini.

The immanent issues centred on *umbane* and ‘voice’ in prioritising what ought to be done in their settlement. This was reflected in the way in which shack dwellers problematised the municipality interventions championed by the councillor and articulated by the SI. As for the SI, Enkanini leaders often told residents during general meetings that “the plight of shack dwellers has been broadcast all over the world”.<sup>62</sup> These remarks were made as an argument that resources had been mobilised by the SI in the name of Enkanini. Mathanzima actually informed the meeting that “the white people who came here and took a video [of Enkanini] and portrayed it in America [reference to the several news channels, for example Voice of America, that were showcasing the IShack Project] means Enkanini is now known overseas and funding has been secured”. This statement implied that the resources mobilised by the SI were ‘our’ money for ‘our development’. Enkanini then transformed the rationale for the enumeration exercise from mere knowledge of the demographic size of the settlement to specific post-enumeration interventions centred on its priorities.

The remarks by leaders of Enkanini reflected a mistrust of SI. From my observation, this mistrust emanated from shallow community engagement by SI. Engagement was with only a handful of residents (those SI designated their co-researchers) who had claimed to be leaders. With this shallow engagement, the SI intervention was viewed as a replacement of the grid option despite repeated emphasis by SI that the solar option was just an interim solution while residents were waiting for a long term grid-based solution to be provided by the municipality. The challenge for SI in defusing this mistrust was to act on the insight that the emphasis on the solar option as an interim measure was produced during a time when Enkanini’s residents were thick in a process of pursuit of getting the attention of the municipality. There were no prior sustained community engagements outside the emotive demands for grid access. The perception held by residents about the resistance of the municipality to facilitate grid access, and the ‘readiness’ of the solar rollout as well as the huge resource mobilization for the iShack rollout, raised their suspicions. Furthermore, the label of SI

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<sup>62</sup> On 28 August, 2012 at Enkanini General Meeting (feedback on the meeting held with the mayor), 6.30 pm.

as ‘white people’ brought in a racial gulf which historically informed memories of apartheid repressions and exclusions<sup>63</sup>.

The process of transforming the discourse of enumeration was clear when Enkanini sidestepped SDI’s post-enumeration rituals of reblocking or blocking out (see Chapter 3), engagement with service providers and eventual improved service provision. Enkanini transformed SDI’s conventional postenumeration process and began demanding services directly, particularly electricity. I observed that enumeration, in comparison with solar energy, was accommodated because its perceived effect was that of increasing the visibility of Enkanini to the extent that the municipality would respond to the community’s cry for *umbane*. The leaders quickly concluded and spread the idea among residents that after enumeration *umasipala uzoleth’ umbane* (the municipality will bring electricity). This attests to the shack dwellers’ appropriation of the enumeration exercise and constructing around it their own discourse.

In my many encounters with Enkanini leaders and residents, I often asked them why they had made such definitive promises and had such high expectations when the municipality had not made such a promise, except for the Speaker’s request in July 2012 for shack dwellers to return and meet the municipality after one month when the enumeration would have been completed. They responded by acknowledging that the municipality had not made any promises but argued that enumeration was *only* undertaken to clear the stumbling block to the solutions for their woes, that is, invisibility. At the July 26, 2012 meeting, the Speaker responded to the demands for electricity and expanded water and sanitation services by requesting the community to give the municipality a month to undertake enumeration. The councillor and Ward Committee members said that it was difficult for them to ‘correct’ residents and tell them that the promise that after enumeration electricity would be provided had not been made. The councillor feared that residents would vent their anger on her and see her as an enemy of progress. Interestingly, shack dwellers continued to lobby for the electricity agenda at all their meetings with the municipality. The municipality was then left to ‘correct’ the residents. As for the shack dwellers, this way of transforming the

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<sup>63</sup> I wonder what would have been the scenario if SI had enrolled a black isiXhosa-speaking student in its iShack research team (not just as a ‘co-researcher’) to help gauge the reception of the solar technologies in Enkanini

enumeration played an important role in countering the way in which the municipality had interpreted the whole process.

According to the Deputy Director (Integrated Settlements) responsible for informal settlements, the municipality envisaged the adoption of the approach of shack dweller-municipality engagements that the local state had succeeded in achieving in Langrug informal settlement in the Franschhoek area of the municipality. At Langrug, earlier frictions and confrontations between the shack dwellers and the municipality were addressed through mutual and respectful dialogue mediated by SDI. The municipality commended this form of engagement and actually showcased it worldwide through its networks and participation in continental and global events. For instance, these shack dweller-municipality engagements have afforded the Langrug community leaders the opportunity to participate in the 2012 World Urban Forum in Naples (Italy) together with the municipality. When South Africa hosted the Five Cities Programme<sup>64</sup> Seminar from 5 to 7 February, 2013 in Cape Town, a delegation of slum dwellers, academics and local government officials from Accra in Ghana, Kampala in Uganda, Blantyre in Malawi and Harare in Zimbabwe were taken to Langrug to showcase a success story of how 'slum communities and local governments work together with the goal of taking incremental slum upgrading to the citywide scale' (Hildebrand and MacPherson, 2013). In this form of interface, Stellenbosch Municipality perceived that the concerns of the shack dwellers were better addressed through dialogue, partnership and collaboration instead of confrontations, which were dominant in Enkanini.

The municipality accommodated Enkanini and invited its leaders to the Council Chambers for several meetings as a way of building cooperation and mutual engagement. However, this interfacing was laden with manipulation by both shack dwellers and the municipality. The municipality wanted the enumeration exercise to initiate a process of 'bringing residents on board' in dialogue about improving the lives of shack dwellers, but this was laden with inclinations to co-opt residents into the state's own discourse of improving the lives of slum dwellers through a 'complicated

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<sup>64</sup> An initiative involving cities in Malawi, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ghana and South Africa to foster dialogue and collaboration between slum communities and their municipalities so as to "...demonstrate the strength of truly inclusive partnerships between the formal and informal in changing the face of their communities" (Hildebrand and MacPherson, 2013 [online; <http://www.sdinet.org/blog/2013/02/5/5-cities-seminar-day-1-partnerships-through-upgrad/> [2013, September 2]).

and long process of slum upgrading'.<sup>65</sup> Such dialogue, potentially, would lead to joint excursions to fellow shack settlements in and outside South Africa and international events where the plight of shack dwellers was discussed. However, wooing residents to several meetings unfortunately led to frustrations on the side of Enkanini shack dwellers who were fixated on seeing immediate material changes. An example is the way in which they wanted the preliminary results of the enumeration exercise to be translated into decisions and interventions in their settlement. The friction in this interface evolved in interesting ways before, during and after the enumeration process.

On the side of the shack dwellers, leaders enlisted themselves among the 'volunteering' enumerators. The volunteer enumerators were remunerated at a daily rate of R80 (US\$8), and this presented a great temptation for those shack dwellers participating in the enumeration exercise to see it as an employment opportunity that might overshadow the initial aim of increasing visibility. This temptation was clearly reflected in the way in which the volunteers wanted the enumeration exercise to be prolonged for as long as possible as this became a potential livelihood activity. For instance, in their introduction during a workshop to equip them with skills and tactics for carrying out enumeration, one lady said, "I am from Enkanini and I want a job *koMasipala*." This reflected the competing interests that were embedded within the enumeration process. For example, the delay in the commencement of enumeration due to disputes between the SANCO leaders and the councillor was based on the suspicion that the latter had only included her own people as enumerators. Enkanini leaders attempted to defuse the tendency to transform the entire enumeration process into an income-earning platform by expediting the enumeration process. The leaders came in and gave each of the 40 volunteers a daily target of completing 10 questionnaires. Some of the enumerators were also assigned to work in the evenings to enumerate shack dwellers who were at work during the day. With this kind of arrangement, the leaders were hoping to release the preliminary results on or before the appointed date of August 28, 2012 for a meeting with the mayor.

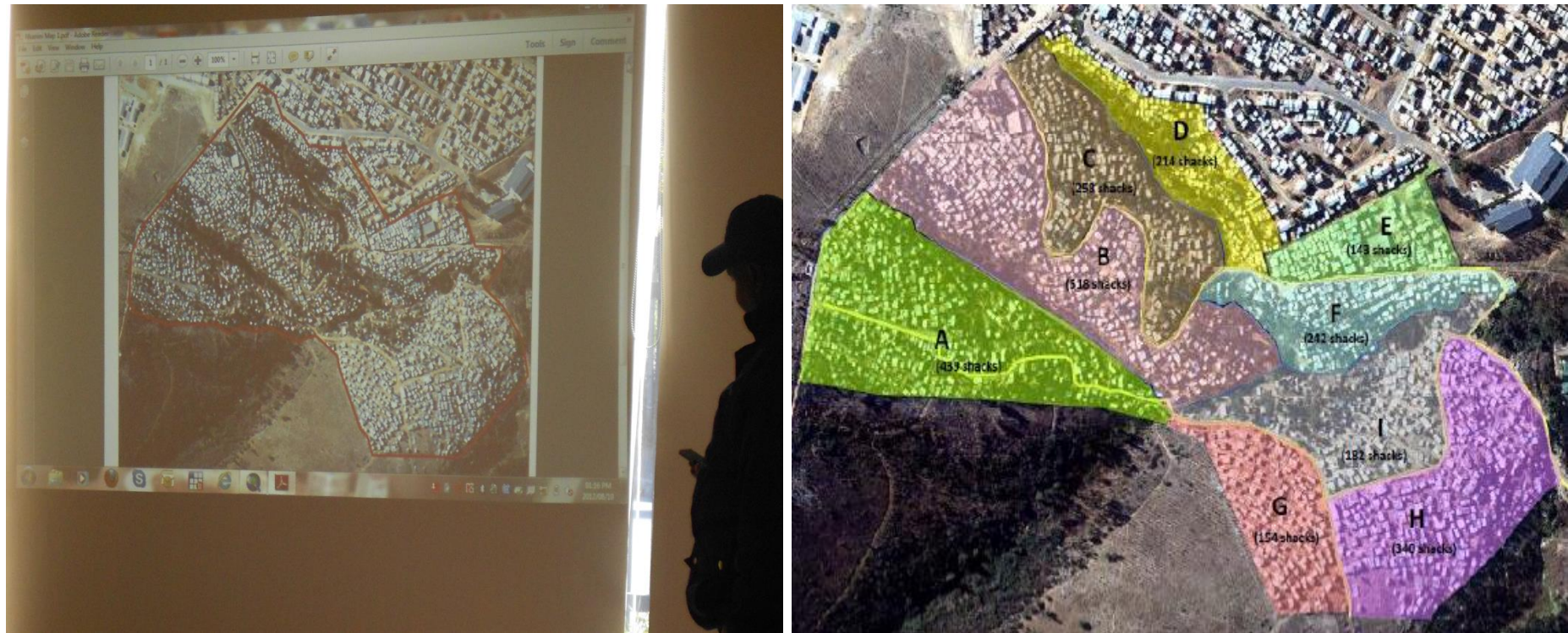
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<sup>65</sup> Sentiment reiterated by the Deputy Director (Integrated Settlements) and the Portfolio Councillor (Integrated Settlements).



**Figure 6. Community-led numbering process, Photographed by author.**





**Figure 7. Images of Enkanini and its partitioning as discussed by residents, photographed by author.**

Left – during the preenumeration training on 7 August 2012.

Right – during the Enkanini mapping process brief (Enkanini Community/CORC/Stellenbosch Municipality, September 2012).



Three exercises were undertaken concurrently to expedite the completion of enumeration before the August deadline. An advance 'numbering' team was given a one-day head start to write numbers on each shack (see Figure 5). The numbering exercise involved identifying each shack in the settlement. During the pre-enumeration training workshop facilitated by SDI and the municipality, residents had agreed to zone their settlement into Sections A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H and I, using the map that was generated by SDI from recent satellite images of Enkanini (see Figure 7). Giving the numbering team a head start of one day enabled the enumerators to commence the enumeration process on Day 2 on sections and shacks that had already been numbered. At the end of each enumeration day, enumerators brought the completed enumeration questionnaire to two 'command centres' where Enkanini leaders and officials from SDI/CORC checked that all sections had been completed. The two command centres were the church facilities located in Phezulu and eZansi. Enumerators who brought incomplete questionnaires were instructed to go back to the respective household and complete the missing data. The most common missing information was identity numbers for every household member.

After a week of enumeration and collection of completed questionnaires, another team of volunteers was selected from among those who had been invited to submit their CVs to do data entry. Over a period of three weeks, data entry was carried out at the municipality's Informal Settlements Unit in one of the meeting rooms that was provided for this purpose. Both the municipality and CORC provided computers and personnel to supervise the process. I had permission to observe and participate in the numbering, enumeration and data entry processes as well as up-close access to talks, conversations, quarrels and conflicts during those processes. Every Friday afternoon, each volunteer from the numbering, enumeration and data entry teams came to the municipality offices for their 'wages'.

Midway into the data entry process, yet another team of volunteers was selected by Enkanini leaders, CORC and the municipality to undertake the mapping of all the community facilities with elaborate details of the state of (dys)function. This was done

to identify which of the facilities were functional as a way to counter tendencies by municipalities to report only what was installed regardless of whether a facility was in a state of disrepair or not. Since the commencement of this mapping exercise occurred after the numbering and enumeration processes had been completed, the residents doing data entry expressed dissatisfaction that the scheduling of the mapping process had disadvantaged them. The disadvantage was that the selection into the mapping team included some who had done numbering and enumeration, hence they were given double the earning opportunity that the others had not received. The leadership of Enkanini struggled to defuse this tension by informing all residents participating in all processes that their participation was not employment. The leaders argued that the mapping process should go ahead. It is important to highlight that the rushed process of trying to produce preliminary results on the demographic size of Enkanini displaced other SDI post-enumeration rituals that were part of the engagement with the municipality.

According to SDI and based on its practice, after numbering, enumeration and mapping, shack dwellers had to engage with the local state to highlight the extent of underprovision of basic services. Since municipal engineers had always expressed the sentiment (during meetings between the municipality and shack dwellers) that provision of electricity and expansion of existing services were impossible due to overcrowding, SDI's intended reblocking exercise constituted an opportunity to counter this.

I observed the reblocking process in SDI's engagements with informal settlements in Cape Town. In each case it involved a readjustment of shacks into symmetrical form on paper by 'community planners'. The community planners consisted of professionally and university trained urban planners working together with the shack dwellers to coproduce a spatial (re)organisation of the shacks in their settlement. The aim of the reblocking exercise was to create innovative spatial plans that had motor-vehicular navigable roads, symmetrically arranged shacks and adequate space, which would not only make city planners marvel at the community planning but would also persuade them to provide more services, including electricity, which previously had been accessed through *izinyoka*.

It was envisaged that the SDI's interventions in Enkanini would lead to such engagements and outcomes. The social mobilisation arm of the SDI triad, the ISN, was expected to communicate all these processes to shack dwellers. Usually, the ISN explained such community-led upgrading processes to one informal settlement in the presence of residents from other informal settlements that had already achieved significant improvements in their community through the process. These horizontal exchanges amongst shack settlements enhanced SDI's entrance into several settlements by motivating them to cooperate and initiate their own community-led visibility processes.

However, since the ISN had failed to make inroads into Enkanini, due to resistance by SANCO, SDI sought to achieve the slum upgrading processes by using two leaders from Langrug, where the ISN had a strong foothold, to participate in the exercise. Although the leaders from Langrug did their best to assist during the enumeration workshop, numbering, enumeration and mapping, their voice and influence were very limited. Observing how Enkanini leaders fast-tracked the electricity agenda and foreclosed the pursuit of other potentially empowering SDI rituals at first led me to conclude that they had forfeited significant benefits that could have led to eventual service delivery.

As articulated in Chapter 3, SDI rituals include self-enumeration, mapping of the community and its facilities, reblocking of shacks, and meetings with the municipality using the maps, showing rearranged shacks and open spaces for services. These activities are also accompanied by the mobilisation of mostly women residents to build up community savings that are often used to request additional funds from SDI's urban funds.

As it later emerged, the terrain of Stellenbosch in general, and that of Enkanini in particular, was completely different from the contexts of informal settlements in Cape Town as well as from Langrug itself that SDI had worked in. This different terrain, and what residents did, cannot be interpreted as Enkanini's failure to access resources that often come with successful completion of SDI rituals. For instance, in Langrug, SDI and Stellenbosch Municipality had signed a memorandum to build an urban poor fund of R6.5 million, not only for Langrug alone but for all informal settlements in

Stellenbosch, from 2011 to 2014 (Moses, 2011). According to this memorandum of understanding, the urban poor fund was to be built through a joint annual commitment of funds by the municipality and SDI. The Langrug community undertook the aforementioned SDI rituals in March 2011, and the reblocking resulted in the relocation of some households within the settlement to open up space for road construction. Electricity was also provided.

However, there was no guarantee that the reblocking exercises in Enkanini would have led to the eventual provision of electricity. Moreover, there were many factors that made this seemingly simple and linear reblocking exercise complex and complicated. One clear example was that while the shack dwellers were clamouring for grid electricity, the SI was on standby, advocating the implementation of an alternative (solar energy) option. Additionally, access to SDI's urban poor fund by Enkanini residents carried with it a condition that residents would build their own savings and that they needed to take a lead in formulating development initiatives for the upgrade of their settlement. The ISN was key in mobilising shack dwellers to do this through linking them with other settlements; but the ISN's exclusion from Enkanini foreclosed all these processes. Moreover, FEDUP had to be part of the process but, since they were building on the community access and mobilisation efforts of ISN, Enkanini forfeited its access to SDI's urban poor fund. Chapter 6 elaborates how the decision to implement solar energy had been reached even before enumeration was done. The processes for other SDI rituals were thus preempted by the SI and its solar energy option.

Furthermore, the municipality had its own immanent and overt agenda to deny Enkanini electricity. The municipality's agenda, among others, was based on the escapist and naïve belief in the temporality of informal settlements. This is shown by the prerequisites, described in Chapter 3, outlined by the municipality for electrification to come in.

Beyond those prerequisites, the projection of Enkanini as an illegal settlement (through the court order) and the fear of reaction of other neglected residents in and outside Kayamandi, the municipality built a tactical approach to finding ways of engaging Enkanini residents through several meetings and presenting 'a substitute source of

energy – in the form of solar energy. From the many meetings that I attended, I concluded that the shack dwellers' demands for electricity were viewed by the municipality as inauthentic and adventitious. The direct voice of the shack dwellers was viewed as a filtered voice of the KDF and its dominant politicians who were perceived to want only to exploit any avenue to overthrow the DA executive in the municipality.

On the side of the shack dwellers, not only did the enumeration results highlight their intense sense of abandonment by the municipality in terms of number of toilets and water taps per person, but what transpired after enumeration also revealed the extent to which several actors were dishonest and exploitative. The dishonesty was reflected in the way in which the municipality veiled its resistance to improved services based on spurious arguments such as the court order, the nature reserve classification and the need for an EIA, as explained in Chapter 3. The solar energy project spearheaded by the SI was extremely vague but was strongly promoted by the SI, the municipality and politicians. The exploitative component resided in the pervasive manner in which Enkanini settlement was 'used' for resource mobilisation and publicity for the iShack Project, to the extent that the settlement was merely a case study and a pilot site for the intervention that, though noble in its merits in green economy debates, was still very much an experimental initiative.

In the final analysis, Enkanini informal settlement was in danger of becoming an experimental space to test certain novel sustainable energy solutions. The other exploitative component emerged from KDF leaders who wanted to foist the solar energy option on Enkanini against the wishes and interests of the shack dwellers. It was exploitative in the sense that the issue of Enkanini and energy was piggybacked upon by Kayamandi politicians to unsettle the current DA dominance in the Stellenbosch Municipal Council. The piggybacking went into overdrive to actually lobby for the implementation of the solar energy solution as a way of frustrating shack dwellers' somewhat autonomous approach of bypassing the traditional patrons to engage directly with the municipality. As long as these frustrations were directed at the municipality, it worked well for the Kayamandi ANC politicians.

However, residents soon initiated their own mobilisation and engagement with the municipality. The October 10, 2012 meeting with the municipal officials, SDI, CORC and the ward councillor was the first defying move, as it was convened by Enkanini leaders without any authorisation from the Kayamandi-based politicians. As indicated in Chapter 3, those politicians had dismissed a general meeting of residents on October 2, 2012 to give feedback on the trip to George. Hence, the October 10 meeting was a bold move and ended in an even bolder tone when Enkanini's leaders and residents declared that the solar energy option should never again be mentioned at any future meeting and demanded that the municipality inform them when electricity would be brought at Enkanini. The demands and claims were articulated directly to the municipality without the mediation and translation of Kayamandi-based politicians.

### **5.5 Striving to project an authentic voice and its risks**

In all their attempts to promote visibility and make *their* plight known to the municipality, shack dwellers challenged one constraining aspect of their struggle to inhabit the urban in a dignified way. That is, they sought all means of constructing a direct link with the municipality. As mentioned earlier, this meant bypassing the councillor and her fellow KDF politicians. Already the shack dwellers had lost confidence in the councillor's ability to champion their cause with the municipality. In my interviews with the councillor, she often repeated the opinion of the Integrated Housing Portfolio councillor that providing electricity in Enkanini will 'take a long, long time'. Aligning herself with this perception, one that Enkanini residents regarded as a position of abandonment by the municipality, she rendered herself redundant in the struggle of the shack dwellers for electricity. KDF politicians were already perceived by Enkanini residents as preventing direct liaison between the shack dwellers and the municipality. This reflected the fact that the Kayamandi ANC politicians were denigrated by the shack dwellers and not seen as their trusted patrons, especially following their 'veto' of the decision by Enkanini residents to refuse the solar energy project. Indeed, they were rather seen as a stumbling block.

While dismissing the leadership of the councillor was easily done, for instance through threats to her life and home, bypassing the KDF proved costly and risky. The KDF had a nuanced role in the narrative of Enkanini. Chapter 3 showed the 'fatherly' and

'creator' roles of KDF politicians in the formation of Enkanini. At the time of the insurgencies by Enkanini residents, KDF leaders did not wait for invitations to the meetings of the residents with the municipality but forced their way into each of them. At these meetings, held at the Council Chambers, Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini deployed his skills in the etiquette of formal bureaucratic political debate. When shack dwellers muddled their issues, expressing them forcefully but haphazardly and aimlessly, Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini often requested a recess from the speaker to consult with the shack dwellers and fellow KDF representatives. During these caucus sessions outside the Council Chambers, which I had privileged access to; Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini led the discussions and dismissed views and opinions diverging from his own. This cemented the DA-led executive's belief that Enkanini resident activism was a mere front for the ANC.

The municipality was carefully dismissive of the role of the KDF in addressing the problems of Enkanini. The municipality did not openly demonstrate its discomfort with the KDF 'meddling' in Enkanini issues, but during an interview, a director expressed his veiled disinterest in the KDF's role in Enkanini. The director indicated that the municipality supported the formation of and engagement with the KDF only in matters related to the 'greater Kayamandi' area. In spite of Enkanini falling within this area, the same official clearly stated that the municipality did not want 'KDF involvement in the electricity issues of Enkanini'. He said that the concern of the municipality was that KDF politicians had a tendency to negatively politicise matters and to eventually disrupt the plans of the local government to build a relationship of trust with shack dwellers. This was another implicit reference to the Langrug story because the municipality expected a reproduction of the Langrug experience in Enkanini. The interference of the KDF was perceived as blocking SDI and the ISN from engaging with Enkanini residents with a view to relations with other informal settlements. This resistance by the KDF, and especially by SANCO, to the ISN gaining a foothold in Enkanini was based on a deep-seated mistrust of the success stories of reblocking exercises in Cape Town informal settlements because they were understood to bear the footprint of the DA.

Instead of allowing the ISN to take Enkanini through processes that would enable the settlement to access urban poor funds, KDF leaders wanted shack dwellers to demand



the immediate provision of electricity. Though this was seemingly what residents also wanted, SANCO and the KDF expressed this simply because its leaders wanted to piggyback on these potentially violent demands and encourage protest so as to render Stellenbosch Municipality ungovernable, thereby unsettling the DA-led executive. The demand for the immediate provision of electricity by the shack dwellers soon after the enumeration exercise could be said to be in line with the lobbying by SANCO and the KDF; however, it was fundamentally different. SANCO and the KDF kept shack dwellers ignorant of the experiences of other shack dwellers on the process of post-enumeration improved service provision. In addition, their direct demand for electricity was based on a sentiment expressed to the KDF, as indicated earlier, that *asifun' ipolitik apha* – a direct critique of the exploitative and interfering role of the KDF. This was a foregrounding of their own authentic narrative that was highly focused on the substantive and material improvements of their community aimed at fostering dignified living. Another element of the difference between the perspectives of shack dwellers and the KDF was the eventual clashes and threats that occurred between the two groups. The conflicts between Enkanini residents and the KDF worked favourably for the municipality as it was seemingly let off the hook while shack dwellers directed their energies towards their former, but currently dysfunctional patrons.

Three events marked and defined the defiance and assertive citizenship claims of shack dwellers with regard to KDF interference in their processes, projecting into the municipality the originality of their demands as well as the immanent indignity of living in Enkanini. Firstly, at a meeting with the SI in Lyndoch on October 4, 2012, Mathanzima challenged the KDF deputy chairperson and KDF members about their endorsement of the solar energy project not only against the wishes of shack dwellers but also without seeking their consent.

Secondly, at the meeting<sup>66</sup> that shack dwellers had arranged directly with the municipality,<sup>67</sup> the former were openly defiant and informed the KDF that they had not been invited to the meeting. During a caucus session requested by Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini at the October 19, 2012 meeting, Enkanini representatives boldly told the

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<sup>66</sup> October 19, 2012 postprotest meeting with the Speaker at the Council Chamber, at 11 am.

<sup>67</sup> Enkanini leaders had the mobile telephone numbers of the Speaker of the municipality, and vice versa.

KDF representatives present at the meeting that since they were interfering with their attempts to directly engage the local state in finding solutions to their electricity woes, the anger of the shack dwellers would be redirected against the KDF rather than the municipality. As recorded in my fieldnotes on the evening of October 19, 2012,

Enkanini people protested, “We need space to be allowed to discuss our issues with *uMasipala*.” The KDF politicians tried to clarify the need for their presence, but the residents argued and asked them whether it was their wish that the residents deal with them instead of dealing with *uMasipala* [‘dealing’ in terms of directing their anger]. The KDF political leaders argued that they were still awaiting the feedback from George (about solar energy), but the residents said that they had concluded that they did not want solar energy and their choice was electricity. They then threatened to walk out if their agenda was diverted by the KDF leaders.

I observed how this was a victory for the municipality as the speaker and his delegation returned from their recess only to find shack dwellers and the KDF verbally attacking each other. As indicated in the previous chapters, Enkanini leaders walked out of the meeting unceremoniously and the meeting was then transformed into another attack by the KDF on the municipality for bypassing it and engaging with Enkanini directly.

Thirdly, Enkanini leaders met with the KDF leaders on the evening of October 24, 2012 at the Corridor Offices of the municipality and protested against ‘interference in *their* processes of engaging with the municipality’. Soon after that meeting, Enkanini leaders rallied residents to go on a protest march to the municipality to demand to know when electricity would be provided and to denounce the solar energy option. That was a defiance of the declaration by KDF leaders that ‘solar [energy] will be rolled out and those who don’t want it should not prevent those who want it’.<sup>68</sup>

The defiance proved to be costly and dramatic for Mathanzima and Andile as it marked another chapter in the mobilisation of Enkanini. Two days after the protest march, Andile and Mathanzima mysteriously disappeared from Enkanini and Stellenbosch. Trying to reach them by telephone was fruitless as they distrusted anyone contacting them. They later returned my calls informing me that they were currently in Gauteng (Andile) and the Eastern Cape (Mathanzima). Disclosing only their general location,

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<sup>68</sup> On the evening of October 24, 2012 at the Corridor Offices.

the province, was a tactic to maintain secrecy about their current locations. This was where they had lived before coming to Enkanini. Speaking over the phone, they both informed me of developments concerning their disappearance. This was corroborated by residents whom I visited in Phezulu and who were living near the two leaders. The two leaders alleged that they had first received threats through anonymous telephone calls. It was alleged that a relative of Mathanzima living in Kayamandi was tipped off by a friend who had overheard conversations by a politician at a tavern requesting some boys to get rid of Mathanzima. The relative of Mathanzima was allegedly advised to immediately tip off his cousin. The two leaders left Enkanini that night. Rumours circulated that someone had broken into Mathanzima's shack after midnight, following the evening that he left Enkanini. It was further alleged by some residents from Phezulu that this incident made it difficult for the two leaders to return to Enkanini. They had not returned when I visited the settlement between 2013 and 2015.

## 5.6 Conclusion

The above descriptions provide evidence of enacting oneself as inside urban society while contesting the disjunctive and asymmetric 'inclusiveness' of this 'belonging'. The context was a setting of constraints and discourses meant to establish Enkanini residents as unworthy targets of state resources in terms of extended service provision. However, the settlement's history exposed the contradictory nature of the discourse of the local state in its persistent refusal to provide improved services to Enkanini. The '*de facto* regularisation' that emerged from the municipality's inability to implement the court order for removal gave a toehold to the shack dwellers. This toehold provided the seedbed for an evolving belongingness that was relatively 'consolidated' when service provision was extended to Enkanini. Subsequent participation in the electoral processes of Stellenbosch added another dimension to shack dwellers' integration into the life of the town. The initial provision of water and toilets and voting was nuanced around reciprocal relations with their patrons 'in power'. These relations became problem-solving networks that favoured the shack dwellers. Initial water and sanitation services were enjoyed as incumbency effects of having patrons in power.

However, these inclusive processes were rendered ephemeral and discontinuous by the political dynamics of Stellenbosch's local government elections that were characterised by a seesaw between brief ANC and DA administrations. The entrance of the DA-led administration in December 2009 and its reelection in May 2011 curtailed the expansion of existing water and sanitation services in spite of the growth of the settlement that had begun during the ANC's brief tenure (April 2008 to December 2009). The non-expansion of service provision was caused by the disconnection between the Kayamandi-based patrons of Enkanini and the municipality as the resource distribution authority.

The local state, then, neglected the settlement. However, the shack dwellers persisted in seeking ways to continue their encroachment on the state resource flows, especially noticeable via informal self-connection to electricity distribution networks. Their doing so was an attempt to sustain the encroachment processes that had become bogged down by inertia in the municipal administration. Additional demands for formal connections to grid electricity, and rejection of solar energy, symbolically signalled shack dwellers' imagined modernity and incorporation into urban society.

As in Isin's (1997) historicised portrait of processes towards the cumulative construction of urban citizenship over time, Enkanini residents also asserted themselves as already included, though partially, and they acted in the hope of a continuation of the process. The incompleteness of their inclusion was articulated through their demands for the formal electrification of Enkanini, which denoted the initiation of a significant form of connection. This was a futuristic pursuit that differed from the nostalgic quests for reconnection by once-connected (and since disconnected) townships. For Enkanini's residents, this connection was imagined as a turning point towards their substantive citizenship in an increasingly urban society whose economy was based on 'electric capitalism' (McDonald, 2009) and that was "utterly dependent on it" (ibid: xv). Though the *de facto* regularisation and basic water and sanitation provision were vital, keeping shack dwellers off the electric grid can be seen as a form of systematic violence and a pervasive act of exclusion. At the same time, the adamant demands and claims for connections to the grid constituted verbalised acts of citizenship. If action speaks louder than words, *izinyoka* constituted

a point of refusal and a clear message about the aspirations of the urban poor. Chapter 6 will elaborate on the interpretation and meaning of these acts of citizenship.

When the municipality sought to disguise its unwillingness to provide formal electrification and extended water and sanitation services on the grounds of the illegibility of Enkanini, shack dwellers embraced and transformed the mechanism of visibilisation from mere enumeration to utilisation-focused enumeration. By demanding an immediate post-enumeration state intervention with resources, the shack dwellers challenged the *now* knowing state to become an active, responsive and sensitive state. In demanding improvements in their settlement, the shack dwellers articulated their substantive citizenship by asserting that slum upgrading and improvement of the lives of shack dwellers were not rhetorical but practical.

It was interesting how the results of the enumeration exercise quickly reached the SI. Curiosity about the demographics of Enkanini and the haste of actors to obtain the necessary information were unmatched by any commitments from the municipality. The knowledge that one toilet and one communal water tap were shared by 72 and 139 residents respectively did not arouse any impulse and urge in the municipality to respond or even to issue the usual political statement that “we note with concern...”. Post-enumeration protests and acts of frustration by shack dwellers were a call for a responsive and sensitive local government and a critique of the continued indifference of a *knowing* state. The critique by shack dwellers was also an unconscious protest against the exceptional and ‘slow violence’ (Nixon, 2011) by the local state. Slow violence unfolds from inattention to attritional calamities that do not attract state response because they are not spectacular (ibid). This slow violence in Enkanini began in 2009 when demographic expansion of Enkanini did not attract service delivery attention. The disturbing statistics of many households sharing a single communal toilet and water tap still does not raise any alarm. While Robins (2014) describes how the Social Justice Commission brought to the attention of the public the previously private matters of toilets in RR Section Informal Settlement in Khayelitsha, that publicisation in the form of toilet wars still falls far short of displaying indignity of what transpires in the evenings when households, living in a single-room shack, cannot access the communal toilets where it is dark. The insensitivity to the results of

enumeration by the municipality can be contrasted with the opposite disposition on sanitation issues within the conventionally built residential neighbourhoods.

In its non-exceptional *modus operandi* in the PSBO framework, the *self* from the side of the municipal inspectors and homebuilders was automated with ultrasensitivity to sanitation and issues of dignity – to the extent that in that realm the number of bathrooms was determined by the number of bedrooms! By expecting from the municipality to make a difference instead of showing indifference as a result of ‘new’ knowledge of the settlement, shack dwellers managed to “call into question the script” (Isin, 2008b:379) of the municipality’s discourse of slum upgrading. The study also brings out the patterns of control-oriented clientelistic relations by out-of-power ‘patrons’ who exhibited their distortive role in endorsing the solar energy option against the desires and wishes of the Enkanini residents. Residents saw this as interference and initiated their own associational autonomy and mobilised themselves to present themselves as humans, not pawns of the ANC or objects in solar energy research projects. In participating in and expediting the enumeration exercise as well as demanding to know when the municipality would respond to their demands, residents did away with the excuses of the municipality that illegibility was a hindrance. Shack dwellers were engaging with their identity as state neglects by expecting the municipality to address their living conditions. The fact that they projected their authentic voice by demanding services from the DA-led municipal leadership that viewed them as ANC pawns meant that they critiqued the politicisation of service delivery and its production of abandonment.

While the next chapter elaborates and interprets ways in which shack dwellers sought to authenticate and orient their voice, it suffices to conclude this chapter by stating that insurgent acts of citizenship were deployed by shack dwellers to counteract the displacing and weakening role of the SI. Those acts were sufficient to be counted as forceful and meaningful though they were ignored by the local state mechanisms of sustaining camps and gray spaces under the inconspicuous guise of fighting the ANC façade while lying about the nature reserve status of Enkanini. Shack dwellers clearly projected themselves as rights-bearing claimants of socio-economic rights. My conclusion is sufficient in light of the absence of the usual common denominator and aid, also and often referred to as partnership or collaboration, in shack dweller

mobilisation: the advocacy support of civil society groups and academics-*cum*-activists. The role of academics was also indicated as problematic in the (de)mobilisation of AbM (Walsh, 2008), though in the case of Enkanini the researchers provided no mutual ‘collaboration’ at all. The demands for connection to the grid were a rebuttal of the enduring tendencies of experimenting with ‘sustainable’ and ‘viable’ solutions in low-income areas, as was done with prepaid water meters in Gauteng Province (Bond, 2012; Dugard, 2010; Harvey, 2007). By subverting and exposing manipulations by researchers and the municipality, the practices of shack dwellers “create[d] a scene” (Isin, 2008b:379) and disrupted palliatives in their quest for substance. Although it was expressing the same concerns about indignity as AbM, the Enkanini narrative was effective outside the courts. The emphasis was not on litigious scores but on substantive citizenship, appropriately defined by Pithouse as a lack of “the material benefits of full social inclusion in the material and spatial senses as well as the right to be taken seriously when thinking and speaking through community organisations” (Pithouse, 2010:37).



## CHAPTER 6: EXTENDING THE GAINS IN CITIZENSHIP

### 6.1 Introduction: Gains and the imperative for extending them

The preceding chapter gave a historical outline of the cumulative gains garnered by Enkanini shack dwellers in accessing land and urban services. Successful resistance to relocation threats and the ‘privilege’ of receiving the initial services marked the setting of the toehold and partial connection in Stellenbosch respectively. This partial connection can also be interpreted as a shallow foothold in urban society. The main argument of this chapter is that the emphasis on grid connection embodied a symbolic form of extending cumulative gains achieved thus far in the history of Enkanini that took the discourse of improving the lives of shack dwellers beyond a fixation on sanitation. The chapter contextualises this aspiration for connection to the grid of modernity within the suppressive and disruptive practices of the former patrons as well as the evasive tactics of the state. Hoxsey (2011:923) argues that in the contemporary risk society, it should not be taken “... for granted that social rights could, would, or should be improved”. This can be contrasted with Mbembe’s (2001:11) description of ‘necropolitics’, whereby “...the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large degree, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die”. Whereas in the past the sovereign power would express itself in taking life, the same power evolves as necropolitics when it differentially deploys modern biopolitical apparatuses of ‘pastoral’ care to ‘make live’. The differentiated deployment appears when the same power is observed passively enacting ‘not make live’ processes of negation, denial, absence and disregard (Munsterhjelm, 2013). Hoxsey (2011:926) argues that in such contexts, social rights can be improved or extended by acts of “fame, fortune and martyrdom” in “the grandeur of the capitalist media spectacle”. In this way, the urban poor have to show that they deserve rights by their “ability to do something unique or original, or garner [the] public’s sympathies” (ibid: 927) through acts whose importance should be validated and propelled by the media. This portrays an ‘artistic’ mechanism of legitimating oneself as deserving through competing with several groups of urban poor in the now common collective repertoires on service delivery in South Africa.

Conversely, there is some research that esteems noncollective forms of action that mirror the silent encroachments on the ordinary urban life (Bayat, 2000; Miraftab, 2013). Miraftab (2013) emphasises the art and politics of the persistent presence of Mexican and Togolese immigrants in formerly racialised spaces in the small town of Beardstown, Illinois. Bayat (2012) emphasises non-movement collective action whereby the collective sentiments of the urban poor are visibilised. Meetings between Enkanini residents and their targeted interlocutor – the municipality – as well as their self-enumeration process attest to this.

This chapter presents the way in which the momentum of Enkanini mobilisation was embedded and embodied both in spectacular and silent or symbolic forms in combination. Claim making on expanded service provision with specific demands for formal grid-lined electricity projected a futuristic view of integration into the city, which was constructed as the completion of the historical processes of partial connection. This claim for electricity was articulated by the rejection of an alternative power source that symbolised temporality, continuity of partial inclusion and abandonment. The demands for grid connection should be regarded as embodying intentions of extending substantive citizenship. These strides towards extending gains have to be understood in the context of state apathy and skepticism whereby shack dwellers were dismissed as mere agents and fronts of the rivals of the dominant political party in the municipality.

The same shack dwellers were plagued by the overwhelming history of patron-client relations that they were trying to shrug off due to the unfruitful role of ‘nominal’ patrons at the time. Kayamandi politicians always imposed themselves on encounters between Enkanini residents and the municipality. During these encounters, the Kayamandi-based political leaders turned up uninvited and asserted their aim of perpetuating their patron status, although it was devoid of any substance for shack dwellers. This lurking presence of the Kayamandi-based political leaders became a chronic hindrance and interference in the dialogic processes between shack dwellers and the municipality. The KDF was omnipresent in the emerging quasi-autonomous endeavours by shack dwellers to carve out alternative and possibly effective relations to address their concerns. In addition, the municipality created a façade that sought to project their

responsiveness to the shack dwellers. It did that by co-opting the iShack Project rollout. Although the patrons endorsed the option, the residents were hostile to it. To fortify their mobilisations and preserve the momentum of the current insurgency, shack dwellers needed to engage with and overcome the rather discouraging contexts. Those contexts created an atmosphere of vulnerability that could undermine the gains made so far. This language of vulnerability and capacity to cope means that there were risks to which the shack dwellers were exposed.

The next section describes and maps the fragile space in which the shack dwellers found themselves and articulates the competing and erosive discourses on upgrading Enkanini. This is followed by a section that highlights a brave articulation of an authentic voice as a rebuttal to the state's attitude of constructing timeless façades through patronage. The bravery is displayed in the content and uniqueness of the demands of shack dwellers. This discussion is followed by a section describing the overwhelming nature of the statecraft and inaction that unintentionally drove the tempers of the residents to a boiling point that manifested itself in violent protests. The municipality, previously nonresponsive to the demands of shack dwellers, quickly condemned the violence in ways that projected the same violence as the 'authentic' identity of shack dwellers. Finally, the chapter elaborates on the vulnerability of shack dwellers in order to underscore the overlap between insurgency and the displacing practices of the SI, the municipality and politicians, with the potential danger of reversing the gains and momentums gathered instead of extending them.

## **6.2 Risks, vulnerability and potential losses and gains**

The phenomenon of narrative dispossession described in Chapter 2 presents the existence of competing and displacing discourses on what constitutes a credible form of intervention to improve the lives of shack dwellers in Enkanini. The discourses are competing in the sense that the SI and its iShack Project believed in and promoted the centering of sustainable energy solutions to unlock and augment the envisaged improvement of the lives of slum dwellers. At the same time, SDI/CORC claimed credit for its assemblage of emancipatory rituals that had successfully mobilised shack dwellers globally to partner with the state to persuade the latter to intervene on issues endogenously prioritised by the former. The whole process of enumeration was one

component of these rituals that were meant to initiate several forms of engagement with the municipality. Moreover, in Chapter 4 it was pointed out that the municipality obfuscated the slum upgrading of Enkanini. This articulation by the local state evolved through a presentation of layers of fundamental pre-upgrading conditions or by hijacking the spuriously ‘ready’ alternative energy solutions that were spearheaded by the SI but resisted by the Enkanini residents. The ANC political leaders from the Greater Kayamandi imposed themselves, and their discourse merely disguised their interest in piggybacking on any emotive subject articulated by shack dwellers. These contexts made the prospects of Enkanini residents to extend their citizenship vulnerable to these discourses of displacement. However, competing actors and their discourses were not necessarily exclusive as boundaries between them were blurred and constantly shifting. For instance, the interest of the SI was opportune when the municipality sought all possible ways to sooth the frustrated shack dwellers. This became more nuanced when the KDF leaders endorsed the solar energy option. The overlapping interests were made complex because the SI was apparently not comfortable with the role of the ‘political thugs’, as its staff often called the influential Kayamandi politicians. Politicians, again, had a vested interest in wrestling power from the current municipal executive.

All these discourses tended to displace Enkanini residents’ own discourse of progress, either separate<sup>69</sup> or combined. I argue that Enkanini residents’ own version of upgrading existed as a core category among the narratives of improving the lives in that settlement. Shack dwellers made a defining statement when they challenged the Speaker of the municipality to show some sensitivity with regard to the poor conditions and lack of dignity in their settlement. When they asked whether his child could survive one day under the same living conditions that they were forced to endure daily, they were clearly articulating their politics of recognition and dignity that stated simply, “We are humans whose lives should matter.” Simply put, the Speaker was asked to display the same sensitivity embodied by town planners and housing officials when handling formally built human settlements. In that simple question, the municipality was criticised for naturalising or normalising differentiated citizenship, in which an expectation of care and dignity was preserved for residents in formal settlements while

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<sup>69</sup> That is, the discourses of SI, SDI, municipality and KDF leaders.

those in informal settlements were abandoned and rendered what Holston (2009:3) called “state neglects”.

By claiming or arguing that the resources secured by the SI were ‘theirs’ for ‘their development’,<sup>70</sup> shack dwellers were actualising the existence of an immanent discourse that boldly stated, “We know what we want”, although it was undermined and eroded by the sharks that they were swimming with. By asking the Kayamandi-based ANC political leaders whether they took pride in and credit for *intuthuko* (development) of Kayamandi when in fact it had a relatively large incidence of shacks, Enkanini shack dwellers were deconstructing the processes of normalising indignity by projecting a consciousness and awareness of something better and more human. By arguing for pursuing the possibility of upgrading Enkanini through expanded water and sanitation services and connection to the grid, shack dwellers were actually projecting another rebuttal of the municipality’s process of reproducing ‘state neglect’.

Through all these multi-pronged articulations about their aspirations for their lives and settlement, shack dwellers actually constituted their group identity formation process that expressed a sense of awareness of what they needed. Their expressions of their needs and aspirations deserve respect and scholarly recognition. This discourse contains the authenticity of the voice of the shack dwellers in Enkanini. However, it should be underscored that this was an assertive process emerging from a relatively long history of patronage; hence, it can also be read as a transitional moment emerging out of a vacuum created by the absence of alternative (viable) patrons.

These competing, overlapping and displacing actors brought on board and produced their own discourses on and meanings of the narrative of Enkanini. These meanings projected the unspoken arguments and assumptions of each actor about the shack settlement and the urban poor. To the municipality, Enkanini was a pawn and front in the pervasive vote bank politics of the ANC. According to the implicit arguments of the municipality, any protests and claims for services should be read as a launch pad for ANC resurgence to unsettle the ruling political party in the Stellenbosch administration.

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<sup>70</sup> Remarks by Mathanzima on the evening of 28 August, 2012, at the Enkanini General Meeting to give feedback on the meeting held with the mayor.

As in Agamben's (2005) description of the deployment of violence by the sovereign power when it perceives that its authority is under threat, the municipality 'unleashed' 'slow violence' (Nixon, 2011) through nonconnection of Enkanini to the grid and nonprovision of expanded services. Structural violence was deployed because the municipality clearly avoided physical violence. From as far back as 1976, South African debates and the blame game<sup>71</sup> about service delivery protests have often centred on 'who threw or fired what first, and then...'. The municipality adopted the same strategy way back in the formation of Enkanini when it showed sensitivity to potential reactions to the relocation of invaders to Klapmuts. For instance, during the 18 October 2012 protest by Enkanini residents at the Eikestad Mall parking lot, a journalist filmed one of the law enforcement officers who was loading his gun with rubber bullets, to which the officer reacted angrily, shouting at the journalist, "*Fokus op die persone wat protesteer, nie op my nie*," meaning "Concentrate on the protesters, not on me." Protesters then booed the law enforcement officer. This was a snapshot of an officer who represented a self-censured state sensitive to any portrayal of itself fuelling violence in a 'peaceful' protest.

However, the violent action was parallel to calculated detachment and nonaction in response to repeated demands for improved service delivery. The detachment was not targeted at residents but at the KDF politicians who were believed to be fomenting the protests and were even ready to appropriate credit for themselves if the municipality did provide something. By appropriating credit and thus loading KDF patronage with substance, the municipality would indirectly have found itself strengthening the axes of patronage that were themselves crucibles for resurgence. The municipality, consequently, chose to be indifferent to the shack dwellers as a way of rendering political representatives ineffective in the eyes of their constituencies and clients. Eventually, this would ensure that insurgencies were directed at local politicians and not the municipality. Nonetheless, the clear demonstration by shack dwellers that their demands were disassociated from the piggybacking interests of the KDF exposed the contradictions of the state, which claimed to have formed the KDF as a way of keeping ANC politicians off the turf of Enkanini, particularly regarding

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<sup>71</sup> Or what Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2011) referred to as 'scapegoating', that is, appointing "... someone or something that should take accountability" (ibid: 51) for causing the community to resort to violence.

electricity. By disassociating their demands from the polarising electoral politics of the DA and the ANC, Enkanini residents also exposed the nerveless indifference of the local state by challenging the municipality to respond to the issues of indignity contained in the enumeration report.

By every possible means, the municipality also appeared to divert the focus and the hope(s) of shack dwellers so that the available solutions for Enkanini would appear to lie outside the direct responsibility of the state. To Enkanini residents, the municipality was the only viable and present interlocutor that should listen and respond because the patrons were out of power and slum-upgrading NGOs such as SDI were aloof. However, the local state became evasive when it perceived the salient delight of the out-of-power patrons who were seen to be directing the anger of residents towards the municipality. The KDF leaders told Enkanini residents that the reason why they as politicians were ineffective was because the 'ANC had lost the elections'.<sup>72</sup>

Two examples illustrate these tactics of transposing and abdicating the duty to care. The first example is when Kayamandi Secondary School pupils were mobilised by local politicians on August 29, 2012 to march to the municipal offices, protesting against the disruption of their examination schedules due to power interruptions on the school premises. The issue also came up on the previous day at the famous August 28 meeting when the KDF representatives demanded to know what the municipality was doing to address the power interruptions at the school. Then on September 10, 2012, at a meeting convened at the school, the municipality clearly stated that it could not intervene in the issue of electricity *inside* the school premises as the institution was the property of the Western Cape Provincial Department of Public Works. It argued that technically, the municipality was only responsible for providing bulk infrastructure up to the boundary of the school and any area inside was beyond its jurisdiction. During the August 28, 2012 meeting, the municipal engineer argued that the issue did not even concern the Department of Public Works. He blamed the school authorities for allowing Enkanini residents access to the underground electricity cables. The school principal made a rebuttal, saying that the municipality should give Enkanini

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<sup>72</sup> Remark made by Mr. Sigquma-Nkungwini on the evening of October 24, 2012, at the meeting called by SANCO.



electricity in order to solve the problem of electricity theft at the school. Witnessing the arguments and counter-arguments and the slyness displayed in the way in which they were expressed led me to observe that the issue was not necessarily about electricity theft, interruptions or who was responsible. It appeared to be part of KDF tactics of passing the buck and piling concerns, complaints and grievances onto the municipality at the same time imputing to it negligence and dereliction of its duty to care. The municipality, in response, did the best it could to deny any responsibility, and its response was directed to the KDF and not to the shack dwellers.

The second instance of the municipality removing the responsibility for solutions to the Enkanini problems from its ambit was its relentless efforts to ensure that the solar energy option was foisted on Enkanini. As stated before, this would place the SI at the forefront and any complaints or grievances would be handled by research 'experts'.

All these tactics and discourses by the municipality were geared towards driving what was perceived as the Trojan Horse, namely Enkanini, as far from its responsibility as possible. Based on its perception of Enkanini, the municipality felt that the upgrading of Enkanini was not a substantive matter and it could therefore be handled through mere rhetoric.

To the SI, the upgrading needs of Enkanini (especially the sensitive issue of energy) provided the best case, field, laboratory and testing ground to pilot a novel and sustainable or green idea of off-grid harnessing of electricity through Mother Nature. The SI did not need to campaign for the energy solution in the settlement as this was already part of residents' mantra. The SI could claim perfect alignment of its research with the social impulses and needs of the community. However, alignment with the broad demand for energy did not translate to an agreement on the source of energy. The planned rollout of the solar energy option was riddled with complications inherent in all innovations whose design details and specifications were full of technical complexities that could be read and accessed only by the SI. The community only needed to accept it! As an example, besides the disempowering and costly burdens of converting electrical appliances previously mentioned, the iShack Project required residents to buy solar-generated electricity units, which were completely unknown countrywide, if not globally. The iShack Project reflected the ruminations of inventors

located somewhere in research spaces. Transferring this option to the community, even through some form of participation, was problematic. This participation became completely manipulative when the community had already and repeatedly stated that it did not want the solar energy option. Reacting to this refusal, even after an explanation of the advantages of the solar energy option by researchers, a staff member from the SI remarked, “I don’t understand why you people want [grid] electricity which is very expensive!”<sup>73</sup> At the same meeting, the Integrated Housing Portfolio Councillor then gave a testimony of her own solar energy experience with her own geyser, and as a way of trying to convince shack dwellers to accept solar energy, she concluded, “Now South Africa is forced to go the solar way.”

The viability and ‘marketability’ of the iShack Project resided in its innovations that could provide sustainable solutions with the major contribution being the use of less energy when appliances were converted to DC and preventing the significant loss of energy that occurred in the grid. Assuming that the protocols to ascertain value, positive impact or change were strictly carried out to justify the implementation of the iShack Project, it was essential that comparisons be made with appliances using power inefficiently to determine the amount of voltage loss through the electricity distribution network in the grid. Now that the novel experiment was being piloted on a community that had never enjoyed the experience of connection and, despite the fact that non-connection resulted in residents not accumulating household appliances that were dependent on grid power, the suitability of solar power at Enkanini was found to be problematic.

The psychological violence against shack dwellers through constructing arguments on the appropriateness of the iShack Project undermined the endogenously articulated narrative about the desired source and function of energy. The solar energy option in the iShack Project also predetermined that only lights and specific appliances (cellphone charger, television and radio) would be supported. The reality at Enkanini was that in the shacks that I visited, fridges were connected to *izinyoka*. An interesting

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<sup>73</sup> September 13, 2012, at 15:00 at the Speaker’s Boardroom.

case was one where the fridge was just parked in the shack while the owner and friends nearby were waiting to mobilise funds to buy cables for their informal connection. Shack dwellers wanted an energy source that could support their household asset accumulation process, not one that predetermined and defined which assets or electric appliances a household should buy. While solar energy would be accompanied by its three specific appliances, the accumulation of electric appliances to be connected to the grid was more attractive and materialised the residents' desires and imagined futures. It should be recalled that the women who went to George explained that they needed energy solutions that could sustain a stove, iron, refrigerator, heater and television set. What they were offered through the iShack Project only supported one of those appliances, which still needed to be converted at their own expense unless they were offered one that had already been converted. Even that arrangement aggravated matters by creating monopolistic solutions for the poor, whereby a solar-based energy solution became the sole energy supplier of the household assets. The mere fact that television sets needed to be converted, or that residents had to buy converted TV sets, already opened up some entrepreneurial opportunities (for the SI and its partners who were manufacturing solar technologies) that were limiting the options of where residents could buy their appliances.

As shack dwellers expressed their disapproval and rejection of and resistance to the solar energy option, the SI and the municipality assured them that the solar energy option was a temporary measure while long-term grid solutions were being pursued. Shack dwellers perceived this as a displacing alternative that would replace their preferred source of energy. I also observed that the SI's philosophy was inherently antigrid and that its solutions were not designed to be temporary. Ultimately, the iShack initiative, though it was creative, was simultaneously disempowering the poor. All the facets of the project were owned, designed and packaged in ways that were accessible to only the researchers who then gained receptive audiences worldwide where this design was relevant. Meanwhile the end users in Enkanini felt dispossessed of the narrative of their needs and desires. In the end, the SI's discourse was saleable and won funding awards enabling a rollout of its project, but its genesis and identity lay outside the community. Furthermore, shack settlements became a fashionable and their residents a worthy target population of funds for the poor that

were provided by philanthropists around the world. Enkanini's own version of grid connection could not, however, sell; and it meant that only the municipality could help the community to achieve that goal – the same state that, as shown, wanted to distance itself from shack dwellers. The disempowering effect of the solar energy debate in and for Enkanini was also reflected in the way in which it displaced residents' claim for expanded water and sanitation services. When the municipality advocated solar energy, water and sanitation were neglected and forgotten precisely because the shack dwellers expended all their energy on emphasising the type of *umbane* that they wanted.

SDI/CORC, conversely, claimed outstanding expertise in emancipatory interventions and relationship building for shack settlements. They considered the rights approach espoused by AbM and the Anti-Eviction Committee as confrontational, alienating and devoid of the materialistic benefits that were part of the substantive citizenship fought for by the poor. Instead, SDI/CORC preferred "... preparing communities for an engagement with government, especially local government..." to actualize the "...old rallying cry: *"Nothing for us without us"* [through] ... the kind of upgrading ... [that] is about realizing real citizenship and equality in our cities" (CORC, 2012:3).

Though this approach achieved remarkable improvements for shack dwellers in Cape Town, I problematise the role of SDI/CORC when it comes to Enkanini. SDI/CORC failed to adapt. In Cape Town they had relatively free access to informal settlements that they networked with to share experiences. Any resistance that SDI/CORC faced in Cape Town informal settlements was from within the community itself, but that was dealt with through exchange visits to other settlements. However, instead of finding ways of engaging with SANCO and the broader ANC resistance and gatekeeping at Enkanini, SDI/CORC found Enkanini to be 'politically hot' and kept their distance. The minimum that they did was the ineffective delegation of responsibility to the Langrug leaders to share their own version and experience of fighting with the municipality. SANCO and the ANC strongly suspected that there were DA inroads into Enkanini via the ISN – given ISN's big network in Cape Town where DA has its own political stronghold. This delegation of responsibility was ineffective because the Langrug leaders only engaged with the community and not with non-resident patrons.

Apart from the unreceptive political atmosphere, Enkanini also had an *a priori* presence of the SI and the iShack Project that disrupted the rollout of SDI rituals. Although the municipality had a partnership agreement with SDI on the upgrading of informal settlements within Stellenbosch, it had already endorsed the implementation of the iShack Project. Therefore, the SDI discourse was not a competing one that was not asserted and implemented; it was a potential one that needed to be augmented by the enumeration process. It was a competing discourse because it stood to displace the iShack Project. Its potential lay in the fact that the municipality had a memorandum of understanding with SDI whereby R6, 5 million was jointly committed and set aside for the upgrading of all informal settlements in Stellenbosch. SDI's upgrading processes so far do not have experience of the form of energy solution advanced through the iShack, as residents elsewhere<sup>74</sup> were helped to access the grid.

### 6.3 Self-defining practices

Beset by the displacing practices of the SI, the municipality and Kayamandi-based politicians, the shack dwellers and their resident leaders pursued several tactics that I interpret as potentially self-emancipatory in expanding their citizenship construction process.

Firstly, 'telling the KDF off' for interfering in their self-initiated engagements with the municipality was an autonomous group identity formation process that attempted to circumvent the ineffective patrons. I argue that the projection of a quasi-autonomous voice was expansionary to their ongoing claims for the realisation of substantive citizenship through service delivery. The theoretical description of substantive citizenship given in Chapter 2 emphasised the lack of "the material benefits of full social inclusion in the material and spatial senses as well as the right to be taken seriously when thinking and speaking through community organisations" (Pithouse, 2010:37). By pursuing these elements of substantive citizenship, shack dwellers wanted to disrupt the rhetoric of the municipality. Defying the KDF was a bold and surprising tone emerging from enmeshed and 'filial' relations and bonds with patrons

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<sup>74</sup> In informal settlements receiving technical assistance from SDI.

who claimed ownership of Enkanini. It was bold and surprising because poor people are portrayed as having little control over relationships that they hold with patrons and events around them (Wood, 2003). Wood further argues that the poor make a 'Faustian bargain' whereby the future is sacrificed in order to maintain exploitative relations. The Enkanini story counters this by the way in which the residents sought to construct an autonomous mobilisation of their voice against the backdrop of previous clientelistic relations.

This stage of asserting autonomy deserves scholarly recognition and description because this defiance of the KDF was not built on support from emerging patrons as was the case in the Argentinean shack settlements observed by Auyero (1999, 2000; Auyero *et al.*, 2009). The autonomous group identity formation<sup>75</sup> process was embodied in the construction of collective claims and authentic voice – *thina*, a isiXhosa word for 'us' – in opposition to the many dominant voices of the KDF, the SI and the state. While that collective claim making and authentic voice showed defiance of the KDF, the direct message to the municipality was that the claims and demands were autonomous, expressing the Enkanini residents' collective desire to be human and to be treated as such. This was a daunting task of convincing the local state and pulling down its attitudinal strongholds that saw in Enkanini no more than a historical product of patronage whose fortunes came out of those same relationships.

The shack dwellers attempted to establish the potential beginning of a transition away from being seen and understood in terms of perceptions that conflated their authentic voice with that of their 'former' patrons. However, the KDF's criticism of the municipality, for bypassing it in direct communication and engagement with Enkanini, worked to cement the long-held prejudices amongst officials of the municipality that the shack dwellers were clients of the ANC. What is important here is the attempt by the shack dwellers to defy the KDF in the presence of the municipality. The KDF recognised the shack dwellers' asserting their associational autonomy, while the municipality failed to recognise it. The KDF representatives recognised this defiance

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<sup>75</sup> Based on collective identities and solidarity built upon common attributes of what their community lacks. According to Bayat (2012:120), these collective identities and solidarity facilitate "instantaneous communication" between residents who might not know each other but "can still recognize their common position" (ibid: 120) of basic service deficits.

because the main purpose of the meeting that SANCO convened on the evening of October 24, 2012 was, according to SANCO and ANC politicians, to express their surprise and seek clarification as to why Enkanini representatives had embarrassed them in such a manner in the presence of the municipality.

The municipality, by failing (and possibly refusing) to recognise the construction of the Enkanini residents' associational autonomy and the authentic voice of shack dwellers, articulated a *direct* abandonment. It was direct abandonment because at this juncture, residents clearly expressed their displeasure about the presence of the KDF. The municipality therefore had no basis to persist in its perception that Enkanini was an ANC front. It should be noted, as mentioned in Chapter 5, that the Speaker and the Informal Settlements Unit officials had the cell phone numbers of Mathanzima and Andile. The two Enkanini leaders also had the numbers of the Speaker and the mayor. Mathanzima and Andile actually took pride in that network, declaring that they could call the mayor or the Speaker at any time. That was how the two leaders of Enkanini managed to bypass the KDF in arranging the meetings.

A likely interpretation is that the municipality seemed to dislike the prospects of the emerging autonomy and authentic voice of the shack dwellers because recognizing it would require a substantive response and would disrupt the processes of neglect and abandonment. After the shack dwellers had vented their frustrations in the November 2012 protests, the spokesperson of the municipality argued that "the Kayamandi Development Forum (KDF) was established early in 2012 to address their [Enkanini's] needs" (*Eikestadnuus*, 2012b:12). The mayor also added, "It is important that we commit to working with the Ward Councillors and legitimate community structures in determining the way forward for Enkanini" (*ibid*: 12). These statements, regarding committing to work with Kayamandi councillors and 'community structures' or the KDF, seemed dishonest, especially considering the political distrust that the municipal leadership had of the ANC and the KDF. The municipality's clear vacillation in showing commitment and noncommitment towards working with the KDF was a veiled but effective nonrecognition of the emerging associational autonomy of Enkanini. That nonrecognition of the emerging associational autonomy of Enkanini worked to ignore



or displace the narratives of shack dwellers who were articulating their priorities and their version of improvement.

A second tactic by the shack dwellers was their concerted demand for electricity and through it their enactment to expand citizenship. Chapter 5 described how an act of claiming something to which access was vehemently denied – through technical requirements that obfuscated slum upgrading – was a self-defining process that identified shack dwellers as emergent citizens. I argue that the discourse on electricity demand in Enkanini deserves further interpretation when one considers the evolution of informal settlements. The construction of urban citizenship was identified and centred on the axes of housing and urban services (see Chapter 2). The theoretical description further located these axes in the normative PSBO processes that function as enclosures that confine, essentialise and legitimise the distribution of state resources for housing and service delivery mainly within the conventional spatial framework. Now that informal settlements evolve as an antithesis of these conventional spatial frameworks, it makes the claim of the residents for formal electricity connection *absurd* to the state. Though the local state has tolerated the spontaneity and organic formation of human settlements, it has only managed to tolerate the circumvention of planning and service provision norms. Concerning services, the municipality has only provided emergency kind of services that perceive informal settlements as temporary and that sustain resistance to demands for expanded service delivery. This sustains a disjunctive or exclusionary inclusion of shack dwellers in urban society as they are denied access to services that are provided to other residents.

The key stage of expanding citizenship construction in the lives of shack dwellers lies in what I call the service moment – and a particular service for that matter. The service moment is a stage<sup>76</sup> in the trajectory of settlement or housing development that is proportionally costly (Srinivas, 1999) and thus requires state input, especially for low-income groups. It is the stage where most slum dwellers are state neglects because they can execute the other elements of the built environment creation process (PSBO)

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<sup>76</sup> All stages are in the PSBO process of urban land development: planning, services, building and occupation.

by themselves. For instance, shack dwellers build their own shacks with low-cost materials and the planning is discernible from the social ordering in their settlement (Kombe and Kreibich, 2000; Leduka, 2000; Razzaz, 1998). The particularity of the service moment is the dimension of puncturing the processes that sustain the 'camp' and the 'gray spaces'. According to Yiftachel (2009), unequal packaging of rights in the camp and the gray spaces normalises partial incorporation of people and localities within urban society. This leads to the abandonment of shack settlements whereby, for instance, the local state sustains indifference to the fact that the residents grope about in darkness in the evening. Luminous nights turn the night into day and bring out the 'cityness' that shack dwellers desire.

I deduce that this indifference is meant to focus the debate on water and sanitation, as is the case in most of the literature on slum upgrading. The demand for electricity by Enkanini residents was a process of making their daily experience of dark nights and nonconnection strange and unfamiliar. This is because darkness in informal settlements has long been normalised and is contrary to the consternations that are exhibited by privileged neighbourhoods when Eskom does not follow its scheduled load shedding times. Hence, when Enkanini residents demand electricity, they are interrogating that normalisation and making it strange even in their own communities. I consider the particular demand for electricity to be a key symbolic dimension in the anthropological portraits of struggles for urban citizenship by shack settlements. This is because electricity is central and defines a unique orientation in rights claiming that goes beyond water and sanitation in the broader debates on dignified living.

Current narratives of dignified living are reflected in performative acts recently enacted in the 'poo protests' aimed at exposing the extent of state neglect (Conradie, 2014; Robins, 2014). However, I argue that in spite of all the dramatic ways of exposing indignity through 'poo protests', taking the discourse of indignity beyond the stench and other synonyms of the 'sanitation syndrome' (Maylam, 1995; Swanson, 1977) is polemical. Within this sanitation syndrome, slums are associated with "moral panic ... squalor, disease and crime" (Maylam, 1995:24). Though the observations by Swanson and Maylam relate to apartheid views, postapartheid neoliberal policies and officials' statements have reflected the same pejorative views (Huchzermeyer, 2011). MDG 7

(Target 11<sup>77</sup>) puts emphasis on water and sanitation and tenure security. Emphasis on electricity is therefore polemical because it brings out neglected dimensions in which shack dwellers articulate their current exclusions as well as their envisioned dimensions of inclusion. South African society has also been accustomed to the graphical presentations of the unsanitary conditions in which shack dwellers live to the extent that it has become numb to it. Through this familiarisation with unfamiliar unsanitary conditions, the same conditions become familiar and the only response given by the state are mere press statements. The country merely has to wait for other creative performances that are different from throwing buckets of sewage into government offices and international airports and then become accustomed to them. Society has become accustomed to witnessing graphic ways of telling and attracting attention, only to forget them a few days later.

Therefore, the performative acts about the non availability of electricity need to be explained differently as they cannot be carried, displayed and described in the same way that is done in the 'politics of shit'. Though Appadurai (2002a) and Robins (2014) argue that the politics of shit is a politics of recognition (cf. Taylor 1992) when the private act of humiliation and suffering is resituated and made public, the suffering around energy consumption and deprivation also requires attention. Although the use of *izinyoka* embodies a unique and bold performative display, it is the demand for something that cannot be bucketed or is outside the familiar politics of shit that can give another deep, silent and stench-free dimension to the politics of recognition.

I interpret the demand for electricity as symbolic of a 'nostalgia', that is, a nostalgia of the future and an imagined virtual connection to the vital resource flows of the city and its cityness. The demand for grid electricity is a quest for a future city life that is located in the grid of modernity. In this grid of modernity, the urban poor symbolise their connection to it through acquisition and utilisation of electronic appliances (Ferguson, 2008). Without connection to the grid, this process of asset acquisition is curtailed or it becomes prescribed when the solar energy option predetermines what they can buy. Hence, the demand for grid electricity by shack dwellers can also be read as a refusal

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<sup>77</sup> That is, to "have achieved by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers" (<http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/gti.htm> [2012, February 28]).

of the normalisation of marginalisation. This marginalisation is shown in the shack that is buttressed by an electricity pole while desperate efforts are made to connect it to solar energy and sustain nonconnection to the present grid (see Figure 5). The same is shown by residents who buy electronic appliances such as fridges and park them in their shacks while they find ways of illegally connecting to the grid. It is a refusal to normalise differentiated citizenship, meaning that only those living in the formal neighbourhoods have guaranteed access to urban services while those in the shack settlements are not connected.

The service moment of Enkanini and its emphasis on electricity is also an argument by shack dwellers that their dark nights symbolise the absence of light *that can be provided*, thus rendering their incomplete urbanity an outcome of *human design*. Chapter 2 clearly articulated that urban life has done away with the dichotomy of day and night. Electricity and luminous nights define this. Electrifying places such as Enkanini transforms them from being shadowy and invisible in the night to becoming a “landscape full of light and rich in shadows” (Schlor, 1998:9). This was clearly revealed as our bus approached Stellenbosch from George on September 20, 2012 just after 8:00 pm. From a distance, Stellenbosch was visible through its luminous and electrified areas, while Enkanini was invisible if not nonexistent. Therefore, the claims for electricity and virtual connection to the urban grid are shack dwellers’ call for the visibility of their settlement so that just like Stellenbosch, their settlement can be seen and described by everyone.

From the same constraining contexts of Enkanini shack dwellers, another dimension of expanding citizenship emerged. The current South African mechanisms for state-citizen engagement<sup>78</sup> promote citizen-based service delivery. These state-citizen engagement mechanisms seek to bring citizens on board in budgeting and planning processes with the assumption of the presence of a state that is ready and willing to meaningfully engage citizens. Although the efforts of Enkanini residents to engage or liaise directly with the municipality were met with apathy and noncommitment, they

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<sup>78</sup> Such as the *Batho Pele* (People First) Principle, the Municipal Systems Act and the Presidency’s Framework for Strengthening Citizen-Government Partnerships for Frontline Service Delivery Monitoring.

espoused these principles of state-citizen engagement and even went beyond them. The pursuit of direct engagement with the municipality was a formulation of state engagement, not citizen engagement by shack dwellers. In this pursuit of state attention and recognition, the shack dwellers enacted themselves as citizens who did not passively wait for the local state to engage them but used their mobilisation to engage the state. Through meetings with the municipality or protests, shack dwellers sought not just attention but also mechanisms to engage a slippery state. This reflects the global campaign by the World Bank on social accountability and state-citizenship engagement whereby public sector reforms are implemented to make service providers directly accountable to service users (World Bank, 2004). This is defined as the shorter route of accountability, as opposed to the longer route whereby service providers are accountable to elected representatives, with the latter expected to be accountable to the electorate (*ibid*).

This study explains ways in which shack dwellers from Enkanini pursued this form of engagement by trying to circumvent the KDF and approaching the service provider, that is, the municipality directly. It is an interesting phenomenon that the pursuit of direct engagement by Enkanini residents was unconsciously aligned with the principle of the shorter route of accountability, which is the hallmark of engaged and responsible citizenship. By aligning themselves with the principles of engaged citizenship, shack dwellers articulated their own version of deep democracy. This was revealed particularly at the October 19, 2012 meeting but was tactically made obscure by the municipality and the KDF. At that time, when shack dwellers articulated their authentic voice and identity, they also initiated direct engagement with the state. By so doing, they were identifying themselves as already-enacted citizens.

This interpretation of modes of expanding citizenship by Enkanini residents does not intend to construct a decontextualised, alchemic and romantic story about the mobilisation of the urban poor. I pay heed to literature that problematises ethnographers' romanticised representation of the insurgency of the poor (Meth, 2010). According to Meth, the romanticisation of insurgency often produces simplistic conceptualisations because authors ignore the complexity of the contexts in which the poor are situated.

The following section describes my observations of what could be the unsettling moments in the autonomous mobilisation of Enkanini residents, given the aforementioned contexts that degrade the terrain of shack dwellers' mobilisation.

#### **6.4 A looming reality of weakened shack dwellers' mobilisation: Risk or opportunity?**

This section explains a stage when Enkanini mobilisation reached a labyrinthine moment, soon after the disappearance of the influential leaders, as explained in Chapter 5. I call it 'labyrinthine' because it then became difficult to tell whether the autonomous mobilisation would continue or not, while a portentous, eerie atmosphere prevailed. The municipality was 'playing hard to get' and chose indecision as a cocoon while the SI was determined to gain acceptance for the iShack Project, 'supported' by the municipality and the KDF. The role of the KDF in the disappearance of Andile and Mathanzima, as discussed in Chapter 5, aroused spine-chilling fears reminiscent of the garrison politics by dons and gang leaders in Kingston, Jamaica (Johnson, 2005). Johnson's work in Jamaica describes the extra-legal authority wielded by dons who have garnered the loyalty of the community through exerting violence and fear. As will be mentioned later, Kayamandi politicians have shielded some Enkanini residents involved in violence from the police in return for loyalty. When Andile and Mathanzima disappeared from Enkanini in late October 2012, allegedly after being threatened by Kayamandi-based politicians, none of the Enkanini residents dared to lead an autonomous mobilisation. The absence of collaboration with civil society group(s) or any other technocratic actor left various information vacuums regarding the way forward because even access to the rhetoric of the municipality was absent. At the same time, frustration was brewing over the suppressed voice of the shack dwellers, particularly those in the northern part of Enkanini – who were more militant, as will be described later in this chapter. It was an uncomfortable moment and, as a researcher, I found it difficult to sustain ethnographic observation, especially when visiting research subjects in the evenings.

My discomfort stemmed from the statement made by Enkanini residents when they unceremoniously walked out of the October 19, 2012 meeting at the Council

Chambers. Frustrated by the ‘meatless bone’ of the municipality’s endless rhetoric, Enkanini residents threatened unspecified action, to which the speaker remarked, “You can do what you want.” My other concern as a researcher witnessing the disempowering processes before my eyes was that any violent (re)action by shack dwellers might serve as a credible excuse for the municipality to project the Enkanini reality as violent rather than as a place of indignity, thus perpetuating abandonment.

After the walkout by residents at the October 19, 2012 meeting, I remained in the Council Chambers, perplexed about what would be the next step. It was at that point that Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini criticised the municipality for bypassing them as the KDF but then advised the Speaker that the municipality should be on the alert as the potential violence could lead to property damage, such as the fuel station and two prominent car dealerships located just beyond the intersection of Bird Street with Adam Tas Road. He also advised the municipality to inform National Intelligence and the military! Furthermore, he argued that the rejection of solar energy was not community wide. However, the Deputy Chair of the KDF, who was sitting alone at the opposite side of the Council Chambers (after Enkanini residents had walked out), reacted by saying that leaders (indirectly referring to Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini) should avoid siding with certain factions of Enkanini leadership. One of the KDF politicians expressed displeasure at the conduct of Enkanini residents, remarking that ‘Enkanini wants to do things in their own way – this is unacceptable’. Councillor Fernandez dismissed the ‘disrespectful’ residents as a ‘group of young men, who need a role player’ – a recommendation that was perfectly in keeping with the wishes of the KDF. At the end of the meeting, I approached Mr Sigquma-Nkungwini and asked him what would happen if Enkanini residents went ahead with protests and violence, and he calmly replied, “They will be arrested.”

On October 24, Lusanda invited me to an evening meeting convened by SANCO at the Corridor Offices in Kayamandi. When I arrived at the entrance of the Corridor Offices, I met Andile who briefed me about the threats that had been made against him and Mathanzima since their walkout from the October 19, 2012 meeting at the Council Chambers. He said that they had received SMSs and phone calls threatening their lives. They said that they had reported this to the police but no action had been



taken. At that point, I was caught between the apparent factions of Lusanda who enjoyed the backing of Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and the 'dissenters' (Andile and Mathanzima). I considered them to be liberals as they attempted to lead an autonomous mobilisation by circumventing the KDF.

Three weeks after the October 19 watershed engagement between Enkanini residents and the municipality, the anticipated protest took place on the afternoon of November 15, 2012. It was mainly by residents from Phezulu. The police managed to block them in Bird Street. Frustrated, the residents marched out of Enkanini through the southern exit during the night on November 15, 2012 and demolished Lusanda's shack along the way before looting and damaging the premises of several factories in Plankenburg. They also damaged the water pumping station, causing water supply problems in Enkanini and parts of Kayamandi. The Law Enforcement Unit from the municipality and the police intervened and prevented further damage. On the evening of the following day, residents proceeded to vandalise the municipality's Corridor Offices in Kayamandi, burning the traffic lights at the corner of the Corridor Offices along the R304 road. They even burnt tyres on many roads in Kayamandi, disrupting vehicular and pedestrian traffic. A Kayamandi resident related to me that this disruption of movement as well as damage to the water pump had angered Kayamandi residents who speculated as to who exactly was behind it. That was when the names of Andile and Mathanzima came up and they also became targets of the anger of Kayamandi residents. On the evening of Friday, November 16, protesters were blocked on the road on their way to the tavern belonging to one of the KDF leaders, which is just a stone's throw away from the roundabout near the Corridor Office. The tavern was usually occupied by a large number of young people, and rumours abounded that the owner kept a gun on the premises. That could have been Andile's and Mathanzima's Achilles' heel.

This brings out two contradictions in the role of the youth and their mobility in the story of Enkanini. Those who had come to live in Enkanini after the ANC had lost control of the municipality, tended to critique the hollowness of the ensuing patronage politics by seeking ways of bypassing Kayamandi-based political leaders. On the other hand, the Kayamandi-based politicians still had the loyalty of a number of young people in

Kayamandi and several of them had access to Enkanini residents. They were thus able to keep the patrons informed of any quasi-autonomous mobilizations and about those leading it.

Given the shack dwellers' fears about the circumstances around the disappearance of Andile and Mathanzima, none of the residents dared to come out in public to explain the violent protests on November 15 and 16, 2012. From the media accounts of these violent protests, it appears that the media also did not bother to discover the view of the residents. At that moment, Enkanini and the conduct of its residents were represented in the media in a manner that erased the issue of indignity with violence being put at the centre. Speaking to the media, a KDF member remarked, "We are in the process of installing electricity in Enkanini. The area is, however, in a nature reserve and must be rezoned. This process takes time and we have communicated to all in the community" (*Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012:2). This was a dishonest representation of how Enkanini had been handled.

On November 27, 2012, the mayor convened an emergency meeting in his boardroom with business owners in Plankenbrug, the Stellenbosch Agriculture Society, the SAPS, Stellenbosch Watch and KDF representatives. He denounced the November 15 and 16 incidents and was quoted by the media as saying, "There is a hole in the soul of the community. I ... sense ... anarchy and lawlessness" (*Eikestadnuus*, 2012b:12). Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini also condemned the protest, arguing that violence and unrest were "a new culture in Stellenbosch. How can businesses providing jobs to people be burnt?" (ibid: 12).

The above shows that my fears about the likely immediate reactions to the October 19 meeting were realised and the reactions of shack dwellers clearly gave the municipality a legitimate excuse, as was revealed by the consternation of the KDF that saw a 'new culture' and the municipality that saw violence creating or revealing a crater in the soul of its community. This projection of violence in the media eclipsed and perhaps deliberately failed to present the same incidents in terms of the perceptions of shack dwellers, whose everyday lives had been subjected to the conditions of slum life long before the mayor saw a 'hole in the soul of the community'.

It was at that moment, during the November 2012 protests, that the narrative of Enkanini residents was *made* authentic and that the KDF disassociated itself. It was an authenticity that was constructed in such a manner that it was also depicted in the political response to the community by the mayor and KDF politicians who visited Kayamandi to “perform an all-round inspection of the affected area” (*Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2) on Saturday, November 17 and expressed their strong condemnation. At the time, however, it was apparent that it was not worth seeking explanations from the shack dwellers concerning the incidents. Whether Enkanini was seen as a KDF front then, and only later as autonomous, both portrayals sustained the abandonment processes.

On the same day on which the damaged premises were visited by the mayor and KDF politicians, the spokesperson of the municipality and the mayor also gave the media a structured but inaccurate representation of what had transpired, stating the following:

The Stellenbosch Municipality launched an enumerator (sic) study in August 2012 already to determine how many households there were in Enkanini and what exactly the scope of their needs is *with respect to electricity and basic services*.... Enkanini residents *will also benefit from the Municipality and Stellenbosch University's High Tech Shack Project* (Spokesperson of the municipality quoted in *Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012b:2, emphasis supplied by author).

*The Municipality, together with Stellenbosch University, has explored the possibility of using renewable energy provision such as solar power.* The Municipality together with members of the Kayamandi Development Forum, who has representatives from Enkanini, visited George Municipality in July this year *to investigate similar projects and the feasibility of such a project*.... It is therefore with immense regret that the Municipality notes the acts of violence and damage ... [which] happened *despite concerted and ongoing efforts to engage the residents of Enkanini* (Spokesperson of the municipality quoted in *Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2, emphasis supplied by author).

Certain factions within the Enkanini community of Kayamandi took to the streets, burning and vandalizing Council and private property.... *We cannot continue providing services and ignore the havoc and devastation ... [of] what is being provided* (Mayor quoted in *Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2).

These statements absolved the local state from all blame for indirectly fuelling frustration and violence, and distorting facts and realities. After October 23, the Spokesperson expunged the grid electricity issue and described the solar energy option, misrepresenting the facts by saying that what had been observed in George

was similar to what was planned for Enkanini. The delegation had been taken on a tour to Knysna Municipality, where less than five shacks were powered by solar technology. However, the demonstrations given were out of sync with what Enkanini representatives, especially the women, desired. The words of the mayor about continuing service provision and ‘what is provided’ implied that services were being provided in Enkanini. In his statement he mentioned traffic lights and the water pumping station ‘that supplies water to Kayamandi’ (Mayor quoted in *Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2). These statements projected through the press were merely meant to portray the municipality as the victim, while vilifying shack dwellers as uncooperative, disruptive and hence unworthy of being taken seriously. In particular, the spokesperson talked of “concerted and ongoing efforts to engage residents of Enkanini” (Spokesperson of the municipality quoted in *Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2) as if the municipality were progressive. The municipality was absolved from dishonesty and unwillingness to address the demands of the residents, while no indication was given that the ‘efforts to engage Enkanini residents’ actually broke down on October 19, 2012, when residents were told by the Speaker, “You can do what you want.” It was also indicated that shack dwellers pursued various means to engage the state.

Enkanini residents demanded energy supply, and the municipality ‘secured funding from the provincial government of the Western Cape to upgrade the toilet facilities in Enkanini by 2012’ (*Stellenbosch Gazette*, 2012a:2). The statement was issued at the end of 2012 when none of the upgrading had been carried out. The spokesperson went on to say that the ‘enumeration survey was important to help quantify the exact sanitation needs of people of Enkanini’ (ibid:2). It should be noted that funds for upgrading toilets had already been secured to be disbursed in 2012, and this was done without enumeration. If the spokesperson claimed that enumeration had been carried out to quantify the needs of Enkanini residents, which implied that the municipality had budgeted for and requested these funds without enumeration, what purpose did the enumeration process serve then?

While the demand for connection to the grid lay at the ‘soul of the community’, the municipality made it an obfuscated process that required enumeration, a visit to George, rezoning and an EIA. This presents a ‘clinical’ and dishonest process of

planning the nonpriorities while making the Enkanini priorities an impossibility. The implied impossibility was juxtaposed with another reality that revealed the cosmetic demands for legibility of Enkanini before the municipality would intervene to address the issues raised by residents. This was reflected in the question that occurred to me: Why was the iShack Project rollout made *ready* and *endorsed* by the municipality without any need for enumeration, whereas access to the grid was obstructed by excessive and long-term prerequisites, including enumeration? It should be noted that prior to the post-enumeration meeting on August 28, 2012, the municipality had already endorsed the iShack Project. It was an endorsement that shack dwellers could not criticise as residents did the endorsement and the project was promoted through campaigns of the KDF and the SI. Shack dwellers could not criticise this endorsement of the solar energy option by the municipality because of the stealthy manner in which it had been endorsed long before the enumeration results were out, as the two institutions had a partnership in the development of the iShack. The SI described the partnership as follows: “Stellenbosch Municipality formally requested in August 2012 that the iShack Project be extended to the whole community over a period of time. The details regarding funding, timing and governance must still be worked out” (Swilling, 2012:14).

Therefore, it came as no surprise to me when on August 28, 2012 the Speaker first presented a ‘credible’ argument on the constraints of providing grid connection to Enkanini. Unknown to the shack dwellers, the SI had already been invited to the meeting. After the impossibilities of grid connection had been outlined by the Speaker, he then, in the spirit of taking action, introduced representatives of the SI. After introducing the SI, he remarked, ‘They are capable of providing solar energy at Enkanini within two months. They have the funding from the Gates Foundation ... so there is need to check if this project can be rolled out’ (Meeting of August 28, 2012). It is my argument that this manipulation had little to do with statecraft and other tactics of dishonesty, as explained in Chapter 4, but clearly reflected the internal vulnerability of Enkanini residents and leaders. Shack dwellers were vulnerable to deceit as they had no collaboration with civil society groups that bolstered the voice of the poor as well as to discourses that would label them as violent. Within the history of Kayamandi, Enkanini seemed to be jumping the queue for state attention and hence it risked being

positioned at the end of the queue. At this moment of participant observation, I also sensed that the solar energy option that was so fervently resisted might end up finding its way into Enkanini through the scaled-up implementation of the iShack Project. These vulnerabilities were intertwined with the mobilisation of Enkanini shack dwellers in ways that, to a great extent, undermined their mobilisation and overwhelmed their narrative.

### **6.5 Entangled insurgent citizenships**

Holston (2008; 2009; 2011) identified violence as an inherent mechanism of insurgent citizenship, which, although used to draw the attention of the state and usher in redistributive justice through illegal means, also worked adversely to unsettle the same insurgency and its gains. I compare his story of increased Brazilian democracy that was accompanied with gang violence, which facilitated service provision while making public urban spaces unsafe, with the decongestion of Kayamandi<sup>79</sup> where life was disrupted<sup>80</sup> by insurgencies from Enkanini. Furthermore, the same authentic group identity that was used to formulate forms of deep democracy and shorter routes of accountability was also projected as authentic violence! The sole representation of shack dwellers' violence in the media served to project Enkanini residents as malcontents in the civilised culture of Stellenbosch. This was a continuity of processes that situated shack dwellers through tropes that made abandonment necessary or understandable. Another fear of the Kayamandi community was that the darkness of Enkanini made it a haven for criminals plying their activities in Kayamandi and neighbouring farms.

I argue that the criticisms<sup>81</sup> offered in a bid to unsettle the insurgent forms of citizenship construction by attributing violence to the shack dwellers' mobilisation are flawed. Violence emerging from Enkanini was not inherent in the residents but flared up in the processes of neglect, abandonment and the municipality's indecision that increased frustration until this frustration reached a boiling point. Shack dwellers were pushed to the limit of their endurance as a result of Enkanini being deprived of any exposure to

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<sup>79</sup> Through the formation of Enkanini.

<sup>80</sup> Through damage to the water pumps and burning of tires in the streets during the protests.

<sup>81</sup> That shack dwellers are violent, particularly by the media.

learning from other informal settlements by SANCO's blockade of the ISN, as well as the dishonesty of the municipality's explanations as perceived by shack dwellers but which they could not rebut due to the technical jargon. The isolation of Enkanini was the outcome of an entangling and chronic obtrusion<sup>82</sup> of former patrons whose interference and influence could not be easily shrugged off as the municipality also manipulated their involvement to create ambiguity and the impossibility of intervening. This was sensed by a resident of Enkanini who remarked at the October 19 meeting during the caucus that preceded the walkout, that the municipality was concocting a clash between the residents and the KDF. That was precisely what happened a few minutes after the end of the caucus. I also concur with Levenson's (2012) observation in Cape Town that violence is a *language of last resort* in seeking recognition and attention from politicians and the state that distance themselves from the poor and 'strangle' their voice. Unfortunately, the resultant violence is cast by the state, media and politicians as a culture and not as a language of last resort. A consequence is that, in the end, the shack dwellers and the municipality were "unexpectedly surviving each other ... by facilitating violence on different fronts, but ultimately not solving the core issues of improving lives" (Holston, 2009:3).

Absence of technical assistance from civil society organisations made residents relatively gullible to the rhetoric of the state. Understandably, it was difficult for the shack dwellers to verify the truth about the nature reserve claim-*cum*-excuse but technical collaborations would have helped. In another instance at the meeting on the evening of October 24 convened by SANCO at the Corridor Offices, Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini warned Enkanini residents that audio equipment in the Council Chambers recorded all deliberations so all the threats made by Mathanzima and friends<sup>83</sup> had been recorded and the recording was in the hands of the police. He also indicated that records of the Ward 12 councillor's house being stoned were with the police but added that they as politicians had 'fought hard' to protect those involved. Enkanini leaders could not verify all these 'counsels' that stood to tame their mobilisation. It was taming because they could only find security and clemency by appending themselves to the patrons, thus undoing the autonomous mobilisation that they had initiated. Politicians

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<sup>82</sup> Though it was benevolent during the formation of the settlement.

<sup>83</sup> When they told the Speaker, "You'll see what we will do next."



even established their own graphical and dehumanising animations based on the spurious nature reserve claim, all to the detriment to the community.

On the same note, nontranslation of the work of researchers by civil society brokers and translators left Enkanini shack dwellers vulnerable to the *a priori* partnerships between the SI and the municipality. This implied that the narrative of Enkanini was entangled with the intimate translations of the KDF as well as that of researchers and the municipality. Translations in this context refer to “the negotiation of common meanings and definitions and the mutual enrolment and co-optation into individual and collective objectives and activities” (Lewis and Mosse, 2006:14). This meant that the municipality could sustain its prejudices and justify its abandonment of Enkanini while researchers could convince the international audience that solar energy was the best option for Enkanini and that shack settlements were leading the way in innovation.

I was concerned that the iShack Project rollout was likely to be advanced after the disappearance of the influential leaders who mobilised residents against the municipality and KDF leadership as well as the arrest of the other people who had spearheaded the November 2012 protests. As I drew the boundary of the scope of my ethnography in June 2013, I believed that the ground was fertile for the SI to exploit the promotion of the solar energy option with the tacit support of the KDF, later working with Lusanda whose fortunes could bring him back to the leadership of Enkanini. It should be noted that his heroic act of bravely representing invaders during the 2007 court battles brought him to the helm of Enkanini for many years, but his influence faded during the breakdown of patron-client relations in 2012. The destruction of his shack projected him as a victim and attracted the sympathy of eZansi residents who often disliked the appropriation of leadership of the insurgencies by residents from Phezulu. His nonresistance to the solar intervention could partly have paved the way for an uncontested passage for the iShack rollout.

The rest of the resistance was of the covert type embodied in Scott’s (1990) ‘hidden transcripts’ and ‘infrapolitics’ by the poor. I observed this from the shack dwellers whom I visited, who would adamantly swear, “I don’t want solar [energy panels] on my roof”, and this was the case in both Phezulu and eZansi. It was also in these shacks

that I saw fridges awaiting self-connection to the grid. Lusanda fitted into the image of the typical loyal ANC youth cadre while the militant group from Phezulu was reminiscent of the ANC Youth League type who sometimes had the ‘audacity’ to criticize their ‘elders’ – the ANC leaders. Hence, Lusanda’s position conflated with that of SANCO and ANC leaders in the greater Kayamandi. He also had a trait that, if he had become the visible leader of Enkanini, might have completed the taming of the mobilisation. He related to me that he was well known to the people but that his past criminal record prevented him from participating in anything that was deemed illegal, such as mobilising residents to protest. This would explain his alliance with the big political figures of Kayamandi who could provide protection for him. It also explains why on several occasions, after Enkanini general community meetings that were addressed by Kayamandi-based ANC political leaders, he would leave the scene together with Kayamandi-based political leaders in their cars. These nuances and imbrications of Enkanini and the ANC simultaneously brought a veneer of ‘rest’ and calmness to Enkanini that concealed the suppression of any autonomous insurgency while destabilising progress in the insurgent practices that were going on.

Enkanini also found itself within the context of a long history of inequality and differentiated privilege and citizenship in the Greater Kayamandi area and even in Stellenbosch – the town of ‘the rich and academics’. Within the Greater Kayamandi, there were categories of residents that existed as the excluded core before the formation of Enkanini and occupied the ‘waiting list’ of those who should be prioritised by the municipality. These included a large group of residents living in shacks in the open spaces and road servitudes of Kayamandi as well as those in *Emaholweni* or hostels, which are a notorious reminder of the pre-1994 era. Cloetesville, which mainly houses the coloured community, is another neighbourhood that experiences its own state neglect. The list is long. All these groups have borne their scars of state neglect for a relatively longer time than Enkanini and have long been in the queue to grab the attention of the local state in terms of housing and service delivery. Enkanini was therefore very much regarded as the Johnny-come-lately that was jumping the queue, and its continued insurgency was despised by the fellow urban poor because it might obtain state resources well ahead of the older cohorts who might begin their own language of last resort – if that was what it took. Therefore, the shack dwellers of

Enkanini became further entangled in the politics of balancing opportunities and joining the queue. This then transformed them from insurgents for substantive citizenship to 'patients of the state', which Auyero (2011) captured in his "Patients of the State: Ethnographic Accounts of Poor People's Waiting". Shack dwellers thus were made to experience 'the effects of power' as they were persuaded "to be patient, thus conveying the implicit ... request to be compliant clients" (ibid: 5).

When I visited Enkanini in April 2015, I saw the signboard illustrated in Figure 8 and realised that more extensive ethnographic fieldwork for following the process over time would be required. That is because there is a need to contrast and reconcile the refrain of rejection of the solar technology described in this study and the eventual rollout of the iShack to 'hundreds' (Wild 2015). During the evening meeting on October 24, 2012 Mr Sigguma-Nkungwini and fellow ANC politicians told Enkanini leaders, particularly Mathanzima and Andile, that 'solar [energy] will be rolled out and those who don't want it should not prevent those who want it'. This declaration of the solar rollout needs to be related to the collective rejection by the shack dwellers of the solar energy option during several community meetings described in this study. As mentioned before, Lusanda got his shack destroyed by angry residents who saw him as the one siding with the ANC politicians in the endorsement of solar energy against their will.

The 'cleared' terrain for the rollout of the iShack to 'hundreds' was facilitated by the disappearance of Mathanzima and Andile and the apoplectic effect their disappearance had on the mobilisation of residents based on what they wanted and what they did not want. Wild's (2015) depiction of the 'successful' provision of solar energy in Enkanini presents a sanitised terrain that has no reference at all to the collective resistance of residents against solar energy. An elaborate description of that eventual rollout would require new extended fieldwork.

Figure 9 depicts a scenario that could not happen without the tacit protection of the patrons in the vote bank politics of Kayamandi as the municipality could not eliminate them. The minutes of the council meeting on July 25, 2013 stated that the municipality *resolved* that it could not implement the *urgent* court order granted by the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court in August 2007. The same meeting commissioned the Acting Director of Human Settlements to investigate 'the possibility of rezoning Enkanini and

the provision of electricity to the settlement'. Regarding the case of the new wave of invasion by '23 families', the council meeting of October 24, 2013 resolved to "repair the original fence while providing a narrow access to the illegal occupants outside the fence to access the area inside the perimeter fence and erect a further fence in order to enclose the area which is currently illegally occupied in order to prevent further breach of the perimeter fence" (Stellenbosch Municipality 2013<sup>84</sup>).


The narrative evoked by Figure 8 was one of my concerns during my fieldwork, while that of Figure 9 came as a recent surprise, which would require yet another 'wave' of extended ethnographic fieldwork and writing. In March 2015, the IS simply stated that its iShack Project was oriented towards doing something for the shack dwellers while the latter were waiting for the state (Wild, 2015). This depicts Enkanini, as well as other similar informal settlements, as characteristically abandoned zones that are also therefore fashionable research vacuums that can be subjected to diverse experiments and alternatives in service provision. Such experiments and alternatives can, it is assumed, be pursued with shack dwellers being *aware* of all facets of the developed solutions and how these solutions complement or displace residents' core claim-making processes.

However, it is the differential power relations between shack dwellers and researchers and the abandonment of informal settlements by the local state that leave shack dwellers vulnerable to forms of exploitation. Further research is needed on how universities create 'gray spaces' where ethical standards on consent and awareness of the researched community are violated. This is particularly important when research outputs are implemented in the researched community in ways that create a market<sup>85</sup> at the 'base of the pyramid', in ways that are harmful to the poor (c.f. Karnani, 2009).

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<sup>84</sup> Council meeting of October 24, 2013.

<sup>85</sup> Such as solar technologies in the case of Enkanini.



## Get solar electricity, lights and TV!

**How to become an iShack Client:**

1. Apply with at least one neighbour.
2. Fill out a Registration Form at the Hub.
3. Pay your Installation Fees.
4. The iShack Agents will install your system when you are next on the List.
5. Pay your first Monthly Fee and enjoy your solar electricity!

**Visit the iShack Hub and speak to an iShack Agent for more information today.**

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**Wenza njani ukuze ube nguMsebenzisi we iShack:**

1. Faka isicelo kunye nommelwane wakho abemnye ubuncinane.
2. Gcwalisa ifomu yesicelo kwiziko lethu.
3. Hlawula imali yokufakelwa kwezixhobo.
4. Abasebenzi be iShack bazakufakela izixhobo xa inguwe olandelayo kuluhlu.
5. Hlawula imali yakho yenyanga uze wonwabele umbane wakho wesolar!

**Ndwendwela iziko le iShack uthethe nomsebenzi we iShack ukufumana ulwazi olubanzi.**

**Figure 8. Ready or not, it is there: iShack rollout has come! Photographed by author.**





**Figure 9. New wave of invasion, adapted from Google Maps 2014.**

## 6.6 Conclusion

I came to the conclusion that, despite actions by shack dwellers to make their demands autonomous and authentic, the local state adopted several tactics to maintain the *status quo* of neglect and abandonment. Seeing shack dwellers through their association with a rival political party sustained the local state's indifference to the demands of Enkanini's informal settlement residents. However, the shack dwellers exposed this by disassociating their demands from the political battles raging in the municipality between the ANC and the DA, and by emphasising their 'living death' or indignity. Meanwhile, researchers and the iShack Project came in to capitalise on the 'waiting poor' who would, in their view and even if they resisted the solar energy alternative and its version of the DC-grid, have eventually had to see the dawn of the solar energy option as their dominant energy source.

This chapter has described shack dwellers who were caught between a noncommitted and dodgy state, and concerted processes that forced solar energy down their 'oesophagus' regardless of the fact that they had rejected it. What was drowned out was the call to expand existing rudimentary services. Beyond this, shack dwellers sustained a pronounced demand for formal electricity connections. This was a discursive disruption of the service bypass and a mockery of the disempowering efforts to connect them to other innovative grids.

However, the disempowering role of the iShack Project and the political patrons could not drown out the quasi-autonomous voice that spelt out the aspirations of the residents. Even though various comparatively powerful actors ran roughshod over them, their authentic voice remained clearly embodied in several hidden transcripts such as in their accumulation of AC appliances that they stored in their shacks and used through *izinyoka*. *Izinyoka* then became not necessarily a volitional act of illegality but a phenomenon emerging out of heteronomy produced by the converging



and displacing influences of the state, researchers and patrons. Insurgencies were manipulated to reach boiling and breaking points so as to make legible to society how violent and therefore unworthy of the pastoral state care, shack dwellers were. The state of Enkanini settlement after the 2012 insurgencies revealed a transformation of autonomous mobilisations to abandonment that was under the panoptic surveillance of patrons.

A key observation emerging from this chapter is the vulnerability of shack dwellers that evolved in their distance from potential partners and aid (e.g. SDI), who seemed to adopt an apolitical stance in a highly political space. SDI's discourse and rituals were also displaced, and the pedigree on slum upgrading was rendered questionable. This pedigree of SDI is mainly built on facilitating partnerships between informal settlement communities and municipalities in apolitical ways. This apolitical stance was problematic in South African informal settlements that were intricately entangled with patron-client relationships. In these contexts, the presence of SDI and the access that it provided to slum upgrading resources would have actualised the group identity formation process of Enkanini residents. This would have evolved through the creation of multiple avenues of bringing resources to their community.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

I pursued this study to advance the understanding of shack dwellers' shifting positionalities within urban society. This was built around the core argument of this study that, despite the constraints on Enkanini residents to achieve their goals; constraints that had been caused by the municipality and by the residents' 'former' patrons, they did make some gains – particularly in establishing a sense of their urban citizenship, knowing how to achieve that and engaging autonomously in a struggle towards that end. I have used the concept of urban citizenship to provide an understanding of shack dwellers' emphasis on the substantive content of urban citizenship, often through practices that circumvented conventional and legitimated norms of access to land and urban services. I have presented a genealogical approach to the meanings of each moment along the trajectory of the Enkanini informal settlement. These moments were rich enough to provide descriptions and explanations that have extended scholarly understanding of the struggles of shack dwellers in South Africa. Because this study is the first to use an anthropological approach in Enkanini, its findings have the potential to be useful in further studies of the community. Of particular significance are the entrenched political roles and perceptions around the formation of informal settlements and the claim-making practices of shack dwellers. This is crucial in understanding the slum upgrading practices that usually have a technicist bias. Beyond that, the study brought out the overlap and contrasts between discourses on what constitutes slum upgrading and improvement of the lives of shack dwellers. The main focus of the study was to identify and explain, through ethnographic writing, the processes around which Enkanini residents pursued their struggle for urban citizenship in Stellenbosch through engaging the discourses of upgrading.

### 7.2 Summary of the chapters

In Chapter 1 I gave a background of Enkanini informal settlement that was characterised by protests for electricity and expanded provision of existing services (water and sanitation) and the municipality's response whereby the latter argued that

the illegibility of the settlement was a constraint to intervention. This background described the protests and demands of shack dwellers as illustrative of their desire to belong to urban society. The existing state policy on upgrading was brought in to illustrate how the state at national and provincial levels planned to address the desires of shack dwellers to bring freedom and democratisation to the urban poor. The state's slum upgrading policy was introduced as articulating how lives in urban informal settlements would be improved. In a background section I mentioned scholarly observations of disjuncture between policy and practice, and revealed the need to understand slum upgrading from practice instead of from policy script. I then positioned the local state's response to slum conditions in informal settlements and shack dwellers' counter-responses to those responses as well as the logic of patronage within the local community, as the appropriate field to investigate how the struggle to inhabit the city was waged. The research problem was formulated around three dimensions of informal settlement residents' lives that demanded scholarly attention.

Firstly, the current understanding of shack dwellers' mobilisation is intentionally limited by biases towards litigious victories characterised by radical confrontations with the state, self-help and partnership with the state, and patronage. The dominant narratives of shack dwellers' mobilisation have emanated from the litigious gains by Durban's Kennedy Road settlement and have to a great extent subsumed the narratives of all informal settlements. The work of Appadurai (2002a; 2013) has articulated the mobilisations around SDI philosophy of self-help and partnership with the state to access resources for shack settlements. In this first chapter, I problematised these two dominant understandings by exploring the work on patronage that has been articulated in studies of Latin American and Indian shack settlements but that is occluded in the framing processes in South Africa.

Secondly, the form of belongingness to urban society that shack dwellers were pursuing deserved clarity and understanding. I explained that this required an understanding of the engagement between the state and shack dwellers from which the discourses of these two actors (among the discourses of politicians, SDI and the SI) on what constitutes 'improving lives' or upgrading is crucial. The research argued that these discourses had salient meanings that informed practice. These meanings

also reflect the state's attitude to a type of informal settlement exemplified by Enkanini: informal settlements that are not threatened by demolitions or evictions.

Thirdly, the construction of urban citizenship contained in the discourses of shack dwellers required an interpretation and explanation. The terrain of Enkanini and the ensuing contexts of competing discourses and the demobilising influence of politicians required an understanding not only of the risks that beset shack dwellers' mobilisation but also of how their struggle for urban citizenship involves a rebuttal and deconstruction of the displacing discourses and practices of the state, local politicians and research institutions.

To guide this study methodologically, a qualitative research design was used in the form of an ethnographic approach. This enabled the abstraction and interpretive processes that still maintained a respectful representation of research subjects. The research material was collected through a triangulation of participant observation, interviewing and documentary evidence. During the entire process of fieldwork, the data gathering process was documented in daily fieldnotes that became a memory and record of the events captured. This body of data was analysed, utilising inductive analysis, through themes generated from data categories. The themes were used to pursue ideation and shack dwellers' construction of urban citizenship.

In Chapter 2, through ethnographic writing, I addressed the study's research focus on how the present mobilisations of shack dwellers in South Africa are understood, based on the existing knowledge that polarised discourses had built around AbM and SDI. The dimension that I brought out in this chapter was the description of the historical role of patronage in the genealogy of the Enkanini settlement, especially in its formation and the initial provision of water and sanitation services. The chapter described the historical relations of clientelism and its different manifestations in the current mobilisation and demobilisation of Enkanini settlement. The main argument of the chapter, based on the historical and present realities of Enkanini, was that collective mobilisations of shack dwellers emerged from clandestine relations of patronage that later morphed into repressive forms that worked against recent autonomous mobilisations. This influential role of patronage was analytically significant because narratives (re)produced around AbM and SDI bring out

associational autonomy over time, something which I argued was a misrepresentation in cases such as Enkanini. The genealogical lens used to study the mobilisation of Enkanini residents revealed the occupation, the erection of shacks, the demolition by the municipality in February 2007 and the litigious process that led to an August 2007 court decision permitting the municipality to relocate the occupants and resettle them in Klapmuts, but requiring that to occur before December 2007. This court order was not enforced, yet it emerged more than five years later, to be used by the municipality as a reason not to provide services to Enkanini.

In chapter 2 I also provided the political context of Stellenbosch Municipality from 2000 to 2011, which was characterised by an unstable council that never reached the statutory term of five years. There was a seesaw between ANC- and DA-led coalitions that were interrupted by floor-crossings by councillors, leading to the toppling of and successions by coalitions of different political orientations. Moreover, the chapter illustrated and described the role of an individual ANC politician who clandestinely augmented the initial occupation and came into power as a deputy mayor of the municipality. As presented in this chapter, it was during the reign of the April 2008 – December 2009 ANC-led coalition that water and sanitation services were first provided in Enkanini. My argument, based on the chain of events that I describe, is that the invasion and occupation of the land by shack dwellers in 2007 was built upon a manifest mobilisation of shack dwellers that was clandestinely insulated by patrons or politicians.

Chapter 2 also goes on to present another moment that brought out a unique form of network breakdown in the clientelistic relations between shack dwellers and ANC politicians in Kayamandi. The chapter illustrates a post-December 2009 moment when patrons who had collaborated with Enkanini residents were deposed and alienated from municipal resource distribution and decision-making processes. This happened when the ANC-led coalition was toppled and succeeded by a December 2009 – May 2011 DA-led coalition. The chapter presents ANC politicians, from this time until the time of the fieldwork for this study, as ineffective patrons who were alienated from the levers of municipal resource allocations to service delivery. The form of network breakdown between clients (shack dwellers) and patrons (ANC politicians) emerged not from the context of alternative and competing political opponents but from

autonomous mobilisation by shack dwellers seeking direct and non-mediated access to resources. The chapter characterises the period from December 2009 till the time of the study (2012) as one marked by Enkanini residents' demands for better services, by porous patronage and by an 'open moment' for new and alternative political arrangements used by shack dwellers to pursue direct engagement with the municipality. The political orientation of this autonomous mobilisation of shack dwellers is illustrated in the chapter as concerning mainly claims for a form of substantive citizenship: a demand for grid-based electricity and for adequate water and sanitation services. The chapter also describes this autonomous orientation as emergent from a significant cohort of Enkanini residents who had little or no historical bonds with the ANC politicians who had facilitated the original land invasion and the formation of the settlement in 2007. The chapter concludes with questions pointing to issues addressed by chapters 4 to 6. These related to how the (un)governance of Enkanini evolved from perceptions of patronage, and from positioning shack dwellers and their claims as non authentic and mere fronts of ANC machinations. These questions were based on observed patterns of neglect of Enkanini by the municipality in terms of service provision. Recognising the moment of autonomous mobilisation, the chapter also asks how this mobilisation evolved and interacted not only with the attitude of the local state but also with Kayamandi politicians who persistently asserted their mediatory roles and the SI's solar energy project that displaced their demands for electricity. The chapter contributes significantly to the empirical evidence upon which Chapters 4-6 are built.

In Chapter 3, I presented a literature review of material that has aided my understanding of the empirical data gathered from Enkanini and presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 first reviews the history of urbanization in South Africa and how its legacies of segregation still have its ramifications in the present. As informal settlements like Enkanini emerged as a result of the spillover of population explosions in townships after the relaxation of influx control, the chapter links the history of Enkanini to that of Kayamandi. This was significant in that the current municipality displayed tendencies of neglect and abandonment that are comparable to the historical treatment of Kayamandi in greater Stellenbosch.

The chapter also provides the theoretical framing of the contexts within which shack dwellers formulated their mobilisations and articulated their claims. The contexts captured by the lens of a state of exception illustrated a differentiated governmentality of urban settlements, with informal or shack settlements being understood as ‘marginalised’ (Perlman, 2007). Differentiating the existing informal settlements that have secured *de facto* tenure from those threatened by eviction, I presented the state of exception unfolding in contemporary camps through abject spaces that are rendered invisible and inaudible (Isin and Rygiel, 2007). As applied to shack settlements, the evolution of urban apartheid (Yiftachel, 2009) was utilised to illustrate the greying of urban spaces occupied by shack settlements so that service delivery is done along an emergency model for settlements that have existed for years. The chapter also critiques the dominant narrative as well as the competing understanding of shack dwellers’ mobilisation in the form of partnership and self-help narrative (SDI philosophy) (Appadurai, 2002b; 2013) in that they project shack dwellers’ mobilisation as autonomously articulated and ignore the pervasive logic of patronage. The chapter further presents my understanding of clientelistic relations in enabling access to state resources.

The literature chapter highlighted that clientelistic relationships in shack settlements have been widely observed as ‘problem-solving networks’ for the urban poor in informal settlements while others have viewed them as undemocratic and retrogressive. However, I presented the presence and role of patronage in their dynamic forms whereby recursive patterns of collaboration between patrons and clients not only often face ‘network breakdowns’ (Auyero *et al.*, 2009), but are also perceived by shack dwellers in contradictory ways (Koster, 2012). These varied roles and perceptions of patronage were utilised to investigate the presence and influence of these relationships in the genealogy of the Enkanini settlement. Walsh’s (2009) problematisation of leftist academics’ disempowering role in the mobilisations of shack dwellers was described in this chapter to indicate that it was limited for understanding the nonleftist role of the SI. The chapter called for the need to use pragmatic lenses to understand the tactics of shack dwellers in working with and against different actors involved in slum upgrading. The chapter ended by presenting the conceptualisation of ‘acts of citizenship’ (Isin, 2008a) as a potential frame for capturing and explaining the



manifest and latent meanings of the mobilisations of shack dwellers in the study of urban citizenship. I argued that the acts of citizenship as embodied by shack dwellers' claims and counterclaims to the local state needed to be investigated and explained as they also contended with the displacing discourses of politicians and the SI in ways that were different from the dominant stories on the struggles of shack dwellers in South Africa.

In Chapter 4, I described the interactions between shack dwellers and the municipality in conjunction with the engagements that residents had with Kayamandi politicians and the SI's solar energy project. The central argument of this chapter was that the processes of state neglect in South African shack settlements emerged out of indifference, nonaction and abandonment rather than physical revanchism and actions of disconnection. This argument was presented to broaden the existing tropes provided by Huchzermeyer (2011; 2013) that emphasised struggles for the right to the city by shack dwellers as articulated around eviction and tenure insecurity. This broadening was done by presenting an informal settlement, namely Enkanini, that was tolerated and was not threatened with demolition but was nonetheless bypassed by those responsible for the reticulation of urban services. The chapter provided an analysis of the constraining efforts of the municipality in its response to meet the claims of Enkanini residents by projecting them as impossible through use of ruse, deception and technical jargon. An additional constraint was the disruptive omnipresence of former patrons that no longer had influence on resource distribution. Finally, there were university researchers who brought in a competing discourse of slum upgrading which also dispossessed and displaced residents' own version of improving lives. There is also an illustration of situating processes by the municipality and Kayamandi-based ANC politicians which sought to project Enkanini as a non-legitimate built environment and a potential votebank respectively. The media located the settlement as not being part of the town of Stellenbosch.

The chapter's contribution to the core argument of the study is its identification and exposition of Enkanini residents' conscious articulation of their asymmetrical location within Stellenbosch and their desires and aspirations amidst constraining contexts. This is in the form of establishing and pushing through their discourse of improved lives in slum environments, a discourse that was built on assertions about dignity. This

is a dignity woven around notions of *intuthuko* or aspired developmentalism, something which was shown to be absent in Enkanini residents' present state of incomplete insertion or incorporation into the city's vital axes of resource distribution. What is shown is that they had to encroach into these services through informal and illegal connections. This empirical chapter also contributes to the second objective of the research by showing that residents engaged with the local state without asserting the spatial organization of their settlement while pragmatically demanding extended services. Another component of the second objective, one relating to the assertive pride over informal settlements as part of the city built from below, was shown to be missing. The residents, through emphasizing dignified living and loathing their living environments, objected to the state's insensitivity to their neglect of situations in which municipal leaders cannot fathom themselves living. This appeared as a moral argument about what it meant to be treated as human and for the human object to flourish. In so doing, residents showed a strong sense of what their state as humans implied and what humans need to live beyond a raw life.

In Chapter 5, I described ways in which shack dwellers interrogated and attempted to deconstruct the processes of abandonment by the municipality; slum upgrading narrative dispossession by the SI; and circumventing noneffective brokerage of politicians. The display and deployment of *inkani* was traced in this chapter way back from 2007 when shack dwellers acted their part in the resistance against relocation. This formed the early forms of struggle to inhabit the city by unsettling the dominant PSBO framework of urban development practice. Clientelistic relations in these early stages brought in services but could not be expanded as patrons were deposed from their resource distribution authority. Moving from 2007 to 2012, the chapter brought out, through a genealogical analysis, a desire by Enkanini residents to visibilize their indignity through self-enumeration with the purpose of engaging the local state with data. This use of data circumvented the SDI rituals by appropriating the results of enumeration to advance the moral argument responsabilizing the state to act since their needs had been legible. Even the attempts in the solar intervention, to provide an alternative source of energy different from what residents demanded, were temporarily disrupted. This contributed to the form of constrained struggle by residents that is at the core of this study. Enkanini residents enacted themselves as an existent

polity and exposed the insincerity of the discourses of the state, SI and local politicians without the often visible support of activists, community organisations and NGOs. The chapter's portrayal of Enkanini residents deconstructing the prejudice of the local state that viewed them as fronts of political opponents indicated the formation of a polity with an autonomous voice. What this chapter contributes also is the positionality of the local state (its nonaction) towards slum improvements even on the evidence of enumeration. This shows the possible limits of data-driven activism to engage and shame state abandonment. Data only enable access to state resources and attention when mediated by translators. In the absence of the mediating role like that of SJC in Khayelitsha and CORC in Langrug and other informal settlements in South Africa, legibility does not trigger a response from the state by itself. What remains constant is the aspiration for access to the main infrastructure networks and services being provided in formal neighbourhoods. The chapter shows that instead of the struggle being complimented by activists, community organizations and NGOs, the existence of informal settlement categories reflects competing and conflicting discourses of upgrading some of which are not aligned with the desire of the shack dwellers the organizations claim to assist. In this situation, the chapter identifies the limitations of autonomous mobilization as well as the manipulative role of former patrons who opted not to rebut the technocratic reasoning of the municipality. The aloof positionality of ISN and CORC in a politically guarded and volatile situation like Enkanini also underlines the limitations of technical and apolitical approaches of local SDI methodologies.

In Chapter 6, I presented two overlapping processes in the trajectory of the Enkanini struggle. These related to the cumulative gains (nonrelocation and *de facto* tenure, initial services and visibilisation through the enumeration process) garnered by residents and contexts of vulnerability that contained elements that unsettled the accretion of substantive gains. The space of vulnerability that emerged from the description was the salient wrangle between SDI and the SI to assert their contrasting modes of upgrading informal settlements. SDI believed in putting in motion a series of emancipatory rituals such as self-enumeration, blocking out and negotiations with the municipality on key issues emanating from the enumeration results, leading to eventual interventions by the local state. The SI put the emphasis on access to energy

(iShack Project) and advocacy of the solar energy option as the key sustainable route. These two institutions claimed to possess life-changing solutions to slum challenges, and their competing discourses constituted a zero-sum game. The collusion of the SI and the municipality in advancing the rollout of the solar energy project stood to disrupt SDI processes that had the potential of supporting the post-enumeration negotiations on grid connection. At the same time, the chapter illustrated how the push for solar energy would keep the local state off the hook as the SI would be an interlocutor while shack dwellers wanted to catch the attention of the municipality.

The Chapter's contribution to the study is twofold. The first relates to the defining forms and content of claim-making by Enkanini residents. The defining form of claim-making was in the strides made by residents to engage the state directly. In the South African context of distributive politics (Ferguson 2013) it was a direct engagement with the state for resources. This was a process of building relations with the local state for resources through bypassing former patrons. The remnants of previous brokerage appeared in the chapter only as a deterrent to resource access. This points to the evolution of the politics of dependence and the logic of the tactics of accessing state resources directly. The other defining aspect brought out in this chapter is the content of the claims. In the current fixations of research on claims by shack dwellers that are built around sanitation and poo wars (Robins 2014; Conradie 2014), the struggles by Enkanini for connection to grid electricity has futuristic aspirations for modernity. The chapter positions the emphasis on grid electricity as an extension of both material and emancipatory elements of substantive citizenship. The chapter uses the accumulation of appliances that use grid electricity to show efforts of imagining and fighting for the means to the envisioned future. The chapter then positions these defining dimensions of claim-making within contexts that entangle insurgent citizenships and render them fragile. This vulnerability of autonomous mobilisation is presented as emerging from frustrations with the evasive state, disrupting influence of former patrons who are dividing the community through endorsing the solar energy technology against the demands for grid connection. In all these displacing contexts, the chapter identified the tactics adopted by shack dwellers to define their autonomous collective identity as a rebuttal of the municipality's continued prejudice of reading ANC machinations in the demands of Enkanini residents. The chapter described how shack dwellers; in the

presence of municipal officers, resisted KDF interference in their engagements with and demands to the municipality. The chapter indicated that the municipality avoided recognising that autonomous collective identity formation act and how that tactic by the municipality perpetuated the processes of abandonment.

Finally, the chapter discussed the portentous moment when it was unclear how the claim-making practices of residents would proceed. As a way of asserting their influence in Enkanini, the Kayamandi politicians endorsed the solar energy project as a way of punishing the autonomous identity formation act, including threats to those who resisted the project. As a result of the alleged death threats to and eventual disappearance of the leaders of Enkanini who were facilitating the autonomous mobilisations, Enkanini residents were demobilised. This came after the leaders had mobilised the residents for a two-day violent protest that caused damage to public facilities. Kayamandi politicians and the municipality 'jointly' condemned the violence and imputed an identity of violence to the Enkanini community. The chapter interpreted that imputation of violence as calculated towards building an image of a community that was undeserving of state resources. As this imagery fostered the processes of abandonment, this was reinforced by the municipality's perception that Enkanini was jumping the long queue of many sections of the Stellenbosch community that had been waiting for state attention and resources to improve their community. The best that the municipality could do in 2014, seven years since the court ruling for the relocation of Enkanini residents, was to recognise the impracticality of enforcing the court decision as well as making palliative statements about commissioning the Integrated Settlements Department of the municipality to investigate the possibilities of addressing the demands of Enkanini residents.

### **7.3 Revisiting the main findings: Understanding the mobilisation of shack dwellers and their struggle for urban citizenship**

One of the findings of this study is that mobilisations of shack dwellers are laden with clientelistic relations that simultaneously work for and against the desires of shack dwellers at different episodes in the history of an informal settlement. Using a genealogical approach, the study found that broad generalisations on discrete autonomous and patronage-driven mobilisations masked defining moments in the

evolution of informal settlements. As such, the dominant narrative of AbM, which emphasises autonomy, does not provide an adequate understanding of the politics of mobilisation of shack dwellers in South Africa. In fact, the 2014 developments in Kennedy Road (Durban) relating to AbM's alliance with the DA (How the left let Abahlali down, 2014; Tshabalala, 2014) attest to the twists and turns that emerge in shack dwellers' pursuit of survival and resources to improve their communities.

For Enkanini informal settlement, patronage clandestinely sustained the resistance to eviction and facilitated the *de facto* granting of tenure and the initial provision of water and sanitation services. Attempts by shack dwellers to seek further services through direct and autonomous engagements with the municipality – as patrons were deposed from the municipal leadership and its resource distribution decision-making processes – were constrained both by the interference, on one hand, of local politicians (patrons) who sought to maintain their status but who lacked power to maintain their authority and, on the other, the municipality's expression of indifference and noncommitment. The forms of mobilisation by Enkanini residents, from the formative stages of the settlement up to the time of the study, bring out moments (April 2008 to December 2009) of patronage working as the 'problem-solving network' (Auyero, 1999, 2000; Szwarcberg, 2012). Beyond December 2009, the few existing services at Enkanini were not improved by the new DA-led municipality while the settlement's population grew. Protests that ensued from November 2011 to August 2012 were based on collaboration between residents and politicians. The study interpreted the period between December 2009 and August 2012 as an 'open moment' that gave shack dwellers the option to bypass the patrons. This open moment manifested itself when shack dwellers began defying local politicians, interestingly in the presence of political rivals. This finding reveals pragmatism or bricolage on the side of shack dwellers who exercised some boldness in formulating their demands without using the overt and covert political leadership of local politicians. Taken together, from 2007 to June 2013, the mobilisations of Enkanini shack dwellers cannot be understood through the analytical lens based on the narrative of AbM (Pithouse, 2009; 2012a; 2012b) or SDI philosophy (Appadurai, 2002a, 2002b; 2013).

The other main finding by this study is that although slum upgrading policy in South Africa emphasised *in situ* improvements, in reality it devolved into nonaction when

municipal leadership perceived particular informal settlements as a seedbed of insurgency by political rivals. The local politicians then sought to piggyback on the continued discontentment of shack dwellers and neglect by municipal leadership in ways that fomented shack dwellers' frustrations. The aim of the local politicians was to control the claim making process of residents towards the municipality, while the latter used all manner of deception to construct hindrances and diversionary alternatives that were detested by the Enkanini residents. The nonaction of the municipality in the process and discourse of slum upgrading in Enkanini differs from the argument of revanchism proffered by Huchzermeyer (2006; 2011; 2013). This study interpreted this nonaction by the municipality as a form of abandonment that constructed various forms of exception and differentiated forms of service provision. The concerns about indignity of the shack dwellers were met by indifference.

The study also found that this form of abandonment was aided by local politicians and the SI who both played different roles to displace the forms of upgrading demanded by shack dwellers. Local politicians sought to assert their influence and destroy any form of autonomous mobilisation by shack dwellers. The study described how local politicians' endorsement of solar energy was aimed at asserting their influence in deciding what was appropriate for the residents. This was further used as an act of dividing the community and demobilising it. Though the clientelistic networks broke down around the endorsement of solar energy by local politicians, the latter formulated paternalistic instead of symbiotic forms of relations with the shack dwellers. This worked to the political advantage of the municipality as the shack dwellers expended their energies to shrug off the interference of the KDF.

The study further found that the SI's competition with SDI also displaced the form of upgrading desired by shack dwellers. This was through SI's iShack Project. The municipality used the iShack Project to keep itself off the hook and constructed a palliative response to the frustrated shack dwellers. Because the SI ignored the desired form of energy and exploited the complications of accessing the grid, the SI produced its own form of problematic collaboration with shack dwellers. This problematic collaboration was, however, different from that which emerged from Kennedy Road (Durban), where leftist academics degraded the terrain and immobilised the poor by disrupting and contesting the shack dwellers' "discourses of



empowerment and intervention” (Walsh, 2008:82). Academics at Enkanini formulated non-ideological ways of displacing shack dwellers’ preferred source of electricity.

Another main study finding around which the processes of neglect and eventual abandonment evolved at Enkanini relates to the dispossessing language that was used to present the ontology of shack settlements. In the discourse of the impossibilities of upgrading Enkanini settlement, the study illustrated the municipality portraying the settlement as illegal, illegitimate, temporary and somewhat nonexistent. The illegality and illegitimacy were constructed through evoking a five-year-old and politically dead court order. Repeated use of and reference to the reality of this court order by both the municipality and politicians damaged the self-image of Enkanini residents. The representation of a possible enforcement of the court order sought to entrench the temporality of Enkanini settlement. Ascribing a spurious nature reserve status as an ‘official’ designation to land occupied by Enkanini settlement uprooted and effaced any human contribution by Enkanini residents to the *created* built environment of Stellenbosch. This was also shown in the geographical description of the iShack Project by the global media. This represented the unuttered argument that informal settlements are an aberration when imaging cities and towns in the world. In the end, this portrayal of illegality and illegitimacy, when combined with a perception of Enkanini as a Trojan Horse of the ANC, formed layers of rationales that justified neglect and abandonment. Even when shack dwellers made a rebuttal of the Trojan Horse perception by defying ANC politicians in front of the DA-led municipality politicians, the latter tactically avoided any recognition of the service claims that had been autonomously articulated.

Finally, based on the above findings, the study found that insurgent mobilisation of shack dwellers was entangled with the clientelistic relations and technological innovations that countered and unsettled its progress. To Kayamandi-based ANC political leaders, shack settlements provided a formidable vote bank that could be exploited in reciprocal and in nonreciprocal ways. The formation of Enkanini enjoyed the political benefits of political brokers in the struggle against relocation and in obtaining initial services. The continued alienation of patrons from municipal leadership and their tactics to build up pressure against the incumbent leadership through the discontented shack dwellers frustrated the latter’s attempt to seek

alternative problem-solving relations. Furthermore, informal settlements constituted a field upon which research innovations such as the iShack Project could evolve without sharing values about its contributions between the researchers and the community. The fact that the project was showcased worldwide and resources were mobilised to roll out an energy project that was perceived by shack dwellers as displacing their preferred choice is problematic. Finding out about the clandestine endorsement of the iShack Project by the municipality indicates how complicated it was for shack dwellers to position the municipality as a central interlocutor through which grid access could be pursued. The vulnerability of the shack settlement to such an innovation, which was easily coopted by the municipality, presented another example of the process that unsettled the gains made by shack dwellers' mobilisation. The aspect of entanglement of insurgent urban citizenship with unsettling processes has been highlighted by Holston (2008) in Brazil and Meth (2010) in South Africa. Both authors emphasise violence as the central characteristic of insurgent urban citizenship practices. This study, however, argues that violence in South Africa is embodied both by the state and the shack dwellers. The state, from the *witdoeke* in mid-1980s to attacks on AbM after 2005, used violence. On the other hand, shack dwellers have also used violence as a language, to the extent that violence cannot be used as an unsettling component only inherent within insurgent citizenship. Additionally, the study found that shack dwellers' historical relations with Kayamandi politicians as well as the pursuits to engage with the municipality put them within the queuing frameworks that positioned older sections of Stellenbosch as worthy of present state attention instead of Enkanini. This later emerged as the municipality's salient concerns about responding to demands by residents of Enkanini. It was feared that meeting the demands of Enkanini might ignite further insurgent claims by 'patient' categories of residents within and outside Kayamandi that considered themselves to have endured a longer duration of state neglect than the eight-year-old Enkanini. In such contexts, the insurgent practices by Enkanini residents evolved through relations that constrained the realisation of their desires.

In the summaries of the contribution of each chapter, presented in this chapter, attempts have been made to assess the extent to which these findings relate to four objectives of this study. However, the empirical realities of Enkanini did not provide a

sufficient basis to pursue the fifth objective. By the end of the fieldwork there was a state of demobilisation as potential Enkanini leaders feared being fronts of any autonomous mobilisation after the disappearance of Mathanzima and Andile. This then confined the defining forms of claim-making highlighted in Chapter 6 within entangling contexts. The only moment to follow up on any possibilities of Enkanini residents expressing themselves either as still pursuing their autonomy or as subjected to mere votebank status would have been in the local government election of 2016. Events that occurred after the ending of fieldwork, such as further invasion and expansion of Enkanini, and the events leading up to the election have the potential to provide a basis for the exploration of the fifth objective.

#### **7.4 Recommendations**

This study identified the usefulness of understanding an informal settlement formed in a town as well as the limitations of analytical notions found in the global literature used for understanding the relations between informal settlement residents, the local state and other actors. Missing in the literature are multiple forms of abandonment of shack dwellers by the ineffective out-of-power patrons and the prejudices expressed by political leaders competing for the control of the local process. The struggle becomes long and multi-pronged as shack dwellers have to fight suppression of their voice and identity formation by politicians while simultaneously trying to engage the elusive local state. Further research on this phenomenon of abandonment and unfolding states of exception is also crucial considering that clusters of shack settlements in metropolitan regions such as the City of Cape Town enjoy the benefits of accessing megahousing projects such as the N2 Gateway Project spearheaded by national bodies such as the Housing Development Agency. In such megaprojects, the ANC can still portray its efforts of care, love and service to the people. However, this is apparently not the case for shack settlements that are disadvantaged and made invisible by the size of their urban conurbations that are not adequate to improve the image of the ruling party and facilitate the bigger political project of retaking the 'renegade' Province of Western Cape. Therefore, further research is recommended on this front.

Furthermore, I recommend an auto-critique and a relook at the collaboration between Stellenbosch University and the poor people within its environs. This relook is crucial for finding ways in which universities can at least find an accommodating and sustainable reception for their innovations that are aimed at improving the lives of the poor. This is crucial at Stellenbosch University, which still has not shown adequate research interest – at higher level<sup>86</sup> – in the social constructions of citizenship by residents of the greater Kayamandi area. I particularly emphasise the university's role in its collaboration with Kayamandi, given not only its history in the anthropological conceptualisations and justifications of apartheid but also its adjunct role in the demarcation of the Eiselen Line. The latter aspect was visibilised around the collaboration between the university and the municipality in the 1955 Olivier Commission headed by Stellenbosch University professors P.J. Olivier and J. Sadie, which recommended the implementation of the reversal of black urbanisation in Stellenbosch (Rock, 2011). A social and evaluative study of the existing collaboration (between the university and greater Kayamandi) and reflection upon its continuity are relevant considering the findings of this study that presented the disempowering role played by the solar energy innovation project in displacing Enkanini's desires and in predetermining households' asset accumulation processes.

Furthermore, I recommend an extended ethnographic study of Enkanini with a particular focus on the symbolical objects around which citizenship is constructed. This research can be used as a reference point on the issue of energy access and the envisioned forms of modernity. On the issue shack dwellers' desire for grid connection, there is also need for further research on how the neoliberal local state responds to grid-linked claims while the entire nation is undergoing power rationing. This needs to be interfaced with the sweeping influence of Barack Obama's Power Africa initiative which appears to be supporting significant off-grid initiative in poor communities. Additionally, the responses of the municipality to cries of Enkanini residents need to be followed up particularly the attention to the matters that were argued to be technical

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<sup>86</sup> Take for instance the detailed historical analysis of Bantu families in Kayamandi (*Bantoegezinne in Kaya Mandi*, by Cornelia Drotske 1955) and only available in Afrikaans version up to another detailed and recent masters thesis by Rock (2011). The time between the two studies and the level (masters) attest to the need for research interest in detailed social history and present of Kayamandi. Another point relates to the absence of straight forward, official and noncontested population size of Kayamandi.

impediments – re-zoning and EIA. These should be considered seriously through mutual engagements between the community and municipality instead of the way the court order issue was dealt with<sup>87</sup>. Civil society's role in shack settlements within small towns needs further research attention, considering the hesitant role it plays in the face of political gatekeeping. An overall recommendation for Enkanini and its dignity is the further fieldwork and critical but respectful engagement by researchers, municipality and the KDF as a way of diffusing processes that use the informal settlement as a mere laboratory, a façade of a party-political electoral machine and votebank. This study provides reference points to the above recommendations. Any further studies of events leading to the forthcoming local government elections have the potential to further the findings of this study.

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<sup>87</sup> Through a 2014 Council meeting and without the presence of Enkanini representatives, it was decided that it is not feasible to enforce the same court order that was vociferously used to explain the difficulties of upgrading Enkanini.

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